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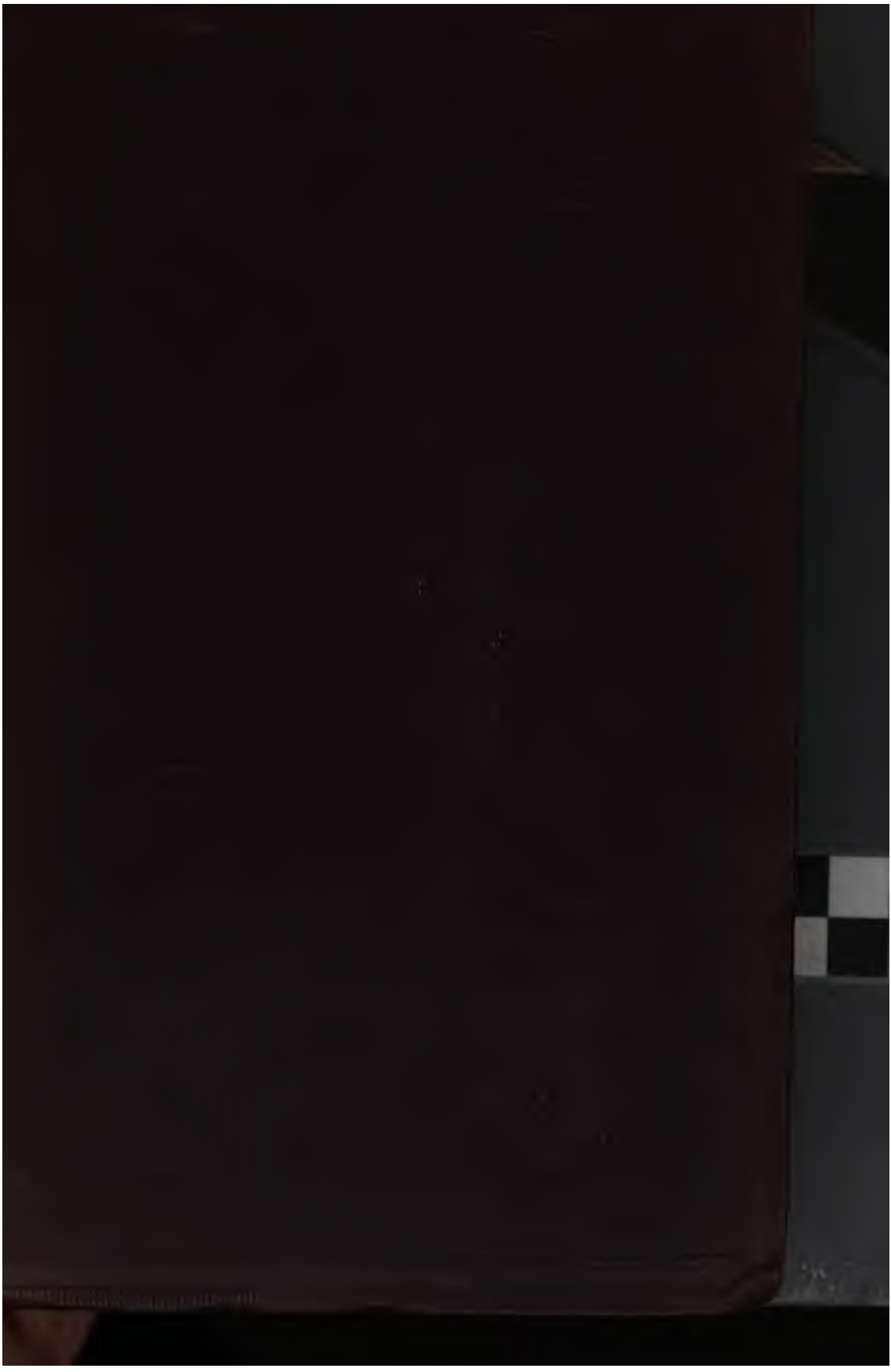

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MEMORIALS

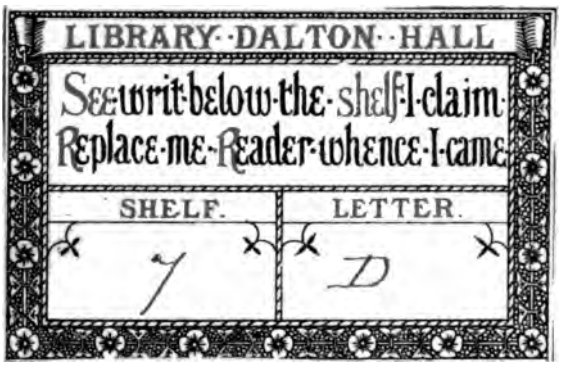
OF THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

IN

ENGLAND

FROM 1646 TO 1652.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MEMORIALS

OF THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

IN

ENGLAND

FROM 1646 TO 1652.

EDITED FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST	OLIVER CROMWELL
CHARLES THE SECOND	SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX
QUEEN HENRIETTA	SIR WALTER STRICKLAND
PRINCE RUPERT	SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG
PRINCE MAURICE	MAJOR-GENERAL MONK
PRINCE CHARLES LODOVIC	MAJOR-GENERAL POYNTZ
DUKE OF YORK	MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPPON
HYDE EARL OF CLARENDON	COLONEL IRETON
ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT	COLONEL HAMMOND
MARQUIS OF WORCESTER	ADMIRAL DEANE
EARL OF DERBY	ADMIRAL BLAKE

AND OF NUMEROUS OTHER EMINENT PERSONS

BY

HENRY CARY, M.A.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH-STREET.
1842.

LETTERS,

ETC.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

My Lord,—This morning, the king acquainted me that he had forgotten to speak to your lordship, and the other commissioners[a] with you, concerning his chaplains, and commanded me to let your lordship know his majesty's desires therein; which is, that some of his chaplains may be, with all convenient speed, sent down to him, whereof Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond to be two. This I humbly desire your lordship to communicate to the other commissioners.

My lord, could I tell you how sensible I am of the honour and favour your lordship hath done me,

[a] The earl of Middlesex, sir John Hippesley, and major Bulkeley, had been appointed commissioners to treat with the king. See *Whitlocke, August* 2.

your lordship would then know I am not altogether unworthy to be called,

My Lord,
Your lordship's most humble servant,
Ro. Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle,
August 11, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Give me leave to acquaint you, that notwithstanding your care to provide for the accommodation of his majesty and this place, by ordering £1000 monthly to be advanced out of the revenue for that end; yet so it is, that I am so far from receiving that provision according to order, that at this present there is yet unpaid £131 due upon the last month of July, so that there is at least £500 in arrear.

I sent the treasurer of the family, above a month since, to London, to solicit and receive the money; who yesterday returned to me with this answer, that there is not any money in the revenue, nor doth he know when it will be had.

Sir, Our extremities at this present are exceeding great for want of money, I having yet received none out of Hampshire for the payment of the soldiers: and if this £1000 monthly be not constantly advanced, the two hundred soldiers, gunners, and other officers, (which are also paid out of it,) must not only

be dismissed, to the great hazard of this place, but I shall not be able to make provision for his majesty and his family, the debt for necessary supplies in this intermission begins to be now so great.

Sir, My humble suit to you therefore is, that you will please to make some other present provision for supplies; or that you will give order that no moneys may be issued out of the revenue until the £1000 last ordered by you for the urgent necessities of this place, and the £1000 due for this present August, and another £1000 advanced for the month of September, now nigh at hand, be paid.

Sir, I beseech you to take some speedy and effectual course herein, for the necessities of this place are such that they can very ill bear delay. I am,

Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

RO. HAMMOND.

Carisbrooke Castle,
August 19, 1648.

COLONEL RICH TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Since the surrender of Walmer castle, there hath been no time lost to use all means possible to reduce Deal castle, which was thought fit to be attempted first, because the strongest; the defendants of which were more numerous and active

than those in Sandown, of which I hope now to give you also a good account in few days.

After many dangerous and difficult approaches, upon a stony beach, where no less than six or seven pieces of ordnance, within pistol-shot of our work, till it was perfected, annoyed us, all hopes of relief being cut off from the besieged, though in view of the whole fleet, it hath pleased God to give this place in our hands, though very little necessitated to surrender, we finding in the castle a good proportion of powder, match, corn, meal, butter, cheese, beef, pork, peas, &c.; they wanting nothing but beer, instead of which they had enough of wine and water. The conditions which are given them, I here send by the bearer, lieutenant-colonel Axtell, which are no limitation but to the soldiery.

The castle is much torn and spoiled with the granadoes, as Walmer was, or rather more; the repair of which, as well as that of Walmer, I submit it to you, whether necessary before the winter come on.

In this and the other leaguer at Walmer, the bearer, lieutenant-colonel Axtell, hath been extraordinary active and diligent, and will, if your leisure permits, give you account of the several provisions we find here; and that this castle wanted not men to defend it, there being no less than two hundred and upwards that marched out.

I have formerly written to the committee at Derby house, to take course for repairing-money for Walmer

castle, not thinking fit to trouble your more weighty affairs upon so slender a thing, I being something more than ordinary concerned in its accommodation, since the General hath pleased to commit it to my care at present. £300 will complete it. I fear £500 will scarce render this in so good a condition as it was before it was besieged.

The remaining castle (though I suppose upon some grounds will not hold out long yet) can be of little use now to the fleet here, we being able to prohibit their coming ashore for fresh water, without which these ships cannot be many days together. What service is as yet to be done here, there is no assistance of mine shall be wanting, which is but weak, and at best scarce worthy your acceptance; and for what hath been done of late here, that God may have all the glory, which is the desire of

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

NATH. RICH.

Deal,
August 25, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I yesterday received a letter and instructions from both houses of parliament, by the hands of sir Peter Killigrew, (who also then presented another to his majesty,) in answer to which I shall give you this account. That although I apprehended a great

deal of ambiguity in the said instructions, comparing the first of them with the last, which caused me to endeavour, as much as in me lay, to defer the taking his majesty's engagement, until I might receive from the parliament an explanation of my said instructions, wherein I was very importunate with his majesty; yet his majesty pressing me to receive his engagement, accordingly as it was signified to him in his letter and votes from the parliament, and lest any obstruction of the treaty should seem to lie upon me, which his majesty told me that, in case of any such delay, he must charge me with; upon most serious consideration, though in much doubtfulness, I resolved my duty to accept thereof; and, accordingly, his majesty hath given the engagement of his royal word[b] to me, (before sir Peter Killigrew and other gentlemen,) as is expressed in my last instructions; and this I now acquaint you with, in order to your commands. And, withal, I must let you know, that, according to my best understanding of my said instructions, I am in as great, or greater straits than before, what is intended by the parliament in his majesty's being in the same state and freedom as he was in when he was last at Hampton court,[c] I having not been there

[b] By the seventh article of the instructions to Hammond, the king was required "to pass his royal word, not to go out of the island during the treaty, nor twenty-eight days after, without the advice of both houses of parliament."

[c] The instructions to be observed by colonel Hammond,

during his majesty's said last residence in that place; which makes me importune you, that more direct and positive instructions may be speeded unto me, and that I may not be left unto generals, in a matter I no better understand. In the mean time I shall apply myself, as much as in me lies, to as careful an observance of the instructions as possible may be.

His majesty hath told me, and so hath divers of his servants, who then and there attended him, that there was no prohibition to any whatever to come unto him; which, according to the limitations in my last instructions, I hold myself bound to observe; and also all communication of letters, to and from any place whatever, was not then hindered him. And his majesty further told me, that he now expects the same freedom, which I thought my duty to acquaint you with, and which I shall not hinder, without particular instructions to that purpose.

Sir, If in any thing I have mistaken your instructions, I beseech you to believe, that (if the fault be not in the ambiguity of the instructions themselves) it is in my disability to judge them, and not through want of desire exactly to observe your commands; and that you shall ever find, when you shall please to give them me, so as I may best let you know it.

during the treaty with the king, are printed at length in the Journals; *Whitlocke, August* 21; and *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 1236.

But, sir, I humbly beg leave here again to importune you, that some better provision may be made for the great and weighty affair, yet upon my hands, by commissioners of parliament as formerly, or otherwise, as to you may seem best; and this I desire, not so much by reason of the burden which hath so long and doth still so heavily press me, but because of an inability I find in myself to perform, to the advantage of your and the kingdom's services, that part which I yet see behind in this my employment. And truly, sir, my sense of this is such, that altogether, by the great blessing of God beyond my expectance and wonder, it hath pleased him alone to carry me well through the seeming worst part of it, I hope with that due respect to his majesty, and faithfulness to the parliament, as will now put to shame my many malicious traducers; yet my earnest desires are, that, for future, better provision may be made for this so great concernment.

But, sir, however you shall please to determine me, because of your commands to me for the security of his majesty's person, from being taken off this island, (in which point, in these times of danger, especially in regard to the revolted ships, there cannot be too much security,) I humbly offer it, that, if possible, a considerable force of shipping may be sent out of Portsmouth for the guard of this coast. If not, that two or three of the least of them may be ordered to ride at places most convenient about this

island, to command and examine passage boats; that so, during the time of treaty, (to avoid the confluence of people, which otherwise will not be kept off,) no persons whatever, except inhabitants of this island, may be suffered to land without sufficient passes; to which purpose, I also intend to have strict guard upon every landing place. And further, that you will give order for the sending over one hundred horse and five hundred foot more, to continue during the time of treaty, with sufficient provisions of money, so that the county may be constantly preserved from being burdened by them.

Sir, I shall also acquaint you, that although the votes of the 16th November last are positively taken off, yet I do not hear particularly of the revoking those of the first of January, which are more strict, for the securing his majesty in this castle, besides some others to the same effect, which I also understand are not taken off; but in the general vote of his majesty having the same liberty as at Hampton court, which I humbly offer to your consideration: and with it this also, that orders may be forthwith given for horses, and accommodation for his majesty's riding abroad; and that augmentation may be made to the former allowance for provision for the king's family, the company being like to be much more than formerly. But I beseech you that it may be so made, that the two companies, gunners, and other officers, paid out of the former allowance, may not be unpro-

vided for, especially at this time. And that moneys for what is past, according to the £1000 per month, may be speedily sent down for paying our debts; which, for want of timely supplies, are now grown very great.

Sir, I humbly desire a speedy answer in these particulars, to him who will ever be,

Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

Ro. Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle,
August 27, 1648.

MR. RUSHWORTH TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—You will perceive by this inclosed, how near the town of Colchester is upon surrender. As soon as all the committee were come forth unto the General this day, he then appointed commissary-general Ireton, colonel Whalley, colonel Rainsborough, sir Thomas Honywood, colonel Cooke, colonel Sparrow, colonel Gurdon, colonel Blayse, and lieutenant-colonel Barnardiston, to treat with sir William Compton, and the rest of those gentlemen who came out of Colchester, upon the results yesterday sent unto them; which, in effect, were to treat upon the meaning of submitting to mercy, and of fair quarter to the private soldiers, which will be instantly finished; and this afternoon, or to-morrow morning, the three

generals, with all their officers and soldiers, render themselves prisoners.

Our men have stood upon the line, and the places where we made the breaches in the wall, all this day, talking and parleying with them, and many of our people in town; so that it will not admit of delay for the delivery of it up, else there will be great confusion.

By the next,[d] you may expect to hear of our being possessed of the whole town, with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein. I take my leave; and remain

Your most humble servant,

Jo. Rushworth.

Firth,
Aug. 27, 1648;
12 at noon.

DR. HOLDSWORTH TO MR. SANCROFT.

Worthy Sir,—Though I forbear ordinarily to write, yet I keep you oft in mind, and cannot forget to give you an account of myself when any great occasion happens. At this present, I was in hope to have had my release, by my attendance at the court; but the house of commons have put in an exception against myself, as also against Dr. Sheldon and Dr.

[d] The letter alluded to, giving an account of the surrender of Colchester, is printed in Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1240.

Hammond, because we are prisoners. So here is their circle: first, we are imprisoned because with the king, and then denied to be with the king because imprisoned. It is all one: if we cannot serve him as chaplains, we will as beadsmen; and if not in his prison, yet in our own: we there did eat his bread of pleasure, here of affliction; there eat his meat, here wear his livery: a prison is his livery as well as Christ's.

Sir, The chief end of my writing now is only to salute you, and to know how you do, and your pupil Holdsworth. I meant to have writ to him, but am taken off with company, before I had writ three whole lines to you. I pray cheer him up, that he flag not in the end. He will not repent his condition: whether things grow better or worse, we will as well delight to serve God in the way of passion as of action.

Yet there is one thing more. Mr. Tho. Carleton spoke to me for a tutor for his son; he intends to bring him suddenly: he is only to be a pensioner; but a pretty scholar, and a very fine child, and one that I love. I am therefore the more bold to commend him to your trouble. So, with my mighty respects and hearty prayers for your health, I commend you to God's grace; and remain

Your affectionate friend,

Ri. Holdsworth.

Sept. 4, 1648.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Loving Sir,—Your friendly acceptance of my motion deserves more than thanks, which I have had occasion so often to reiterate heretofore, that now it may seem not square dealing to give so light coin and often for so rich commodities. Were your love vendible, you must needs nauseate my returns, which I am forced to stamp with the old impression, having nothing to send you but acknowledgments. I hope you will think it some part of payment to confess a creditor. A further pledge thereof you shall receive is Thomas Carleton, whom his father will conduct himself, and, as I hear, Mr. Langley, his schoolmaster; therefore I desire you would please to hasten your journey to your father, and to send me word when you intend punctually to return, for I would not have him come in your absence. So, with my best respects, I betake you to God's goodness; and remain

Your most affectionate friend,

Ri. Holdsworth.

Sept. 16, 1648.

CAPTAIN ALEX. BENCE TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I not knowing the convenience the lord admiral had to convey his last letters, lost the op-

portunity of discharging my duty; but now I shall inform you of what I then omitted, and since hath happened in order to our business.

Sir, The nineteenth of this month, we came to an anchor before Goree.[c] A council being called, I moved earnestly to go into the river, which was assented unto; and immediately we weighed anchor again, and went in, anchoring about four miles from the revolted ships. It was God's great mercy to us that we went in then: for had we rid without, as was intended, we had been all dispersed, if not lost, by extreme storms of wind and rain which have been since. That night, the lord admiral sent a summons to them, which I doubt not he hath acquainted you withal. Hitherto our intelligence hath been very little; but the 20th day, Mr. Strickland went ashore, who intends to furnish us with what he may.

The 22nd day, a committee of estates came aboard, who told the lord admiral, that they had stood neuters all the war between the king and parliament, and therefore desired and required his lordship to commit no hostile act in their parts. His lordship answered them, that it was not his intention: but told them, he had power from the parliament to reduce the kingdom's ships (now in their port, who had treacherously betrayed their trust) to their obedience; and if they should offer any affront, or do any prejudice to his lordship's ships, boats, or men, that he would en-

[c] Goree road, on the coast of Holland.

deavour to right and defend himself: and then desired them, not to obstruct justice from those merchants and owners, whose ships and goods the revolters do wrongfully detain, and hath now in their port.

The 24th day, there came a message from the prince, in answer to his lordship's summons, full of high languages; but I refer you to his lordship's letter, who hath sent the paper: what answer his lordship will return he hath not yet resolved.

This day, we received information from Mr. Strickland that they had gotten some money for their men, and were preparing five ships and more strength to oppose us: they have planted many of their ships' guns ashore, and quartered land soldiers to defend their ships from us. The States have sent their men of war to lie between us, for prevention of an engagement.

If it be the pleasure of the parliament, that the fleet shall continue here longer, the lord admiral will be necessitated to have a speedy supply of victuals, some of the ships having very little.

This being all, but the service of

Your humble servant,

ALEX. BENCE.

From aboard the St. George,
Riding in Goree,
September 25, 1648.

SIR KENELM DIGBY TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—I would not presume to trouble you with my inconsiderable lines, but upon such an occasion as warranteth all men to address themselves where they may hope for relief. Many heavy misfortunes in my family, together with the great age of my mother, and my long absence out of England, have put the relics of my broken estate into such a condition, that greater distresses will befall me if I repair not personally to cement up the breaches in it, after the best manner I may. But coming out of England by a solemn leave of the parliament, I should doubt I failed of my duty if I returned without having the like.

My humble suit therefore is, that you will be pleased either to give me your own pass, or to move the house for theirs, that I may return home and settle myself there, now that their affairs are in so prosperous a condition, as is above entertaining jealousies of any private person; much less of me, who will make it appear he never deserved them; and is confident he may be meritorious and useful to them, if he be allowed this favour, and be permitted to live under their protection, as other innocent and well-meaning persons do.

I beseech you, engage yourself for me, that I am such an one, and shall no longer desire to live than I

shall be. Thereunto I shall add this title, of being ever,

Honourable Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

KENELM DIGBY.

Paris,
Sept. $\frac{30}{20}$, 1648.

MAJOR-GENERAL MYTTON TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—I hold it my duty to acquaint you how things stand in these parts.

Upon Monday night last, we got our forces into this island; and yesterday, we gave the enemy battle, close to this town; and, after two hours' fight, it pleased God to enable us to give them a total rout. I cannot give your honour any particular account of the slain or prisoners: we guess we have five hundred prisoners; whereof the lord Bulkeley's[f] eldest son and colonel Whitley, which we hear are styled generally, are two of them. I humbly desire your honour to excuse my brevity at this time, being not able, among the multitude of businesses, to inquire into the particulars; which your honour, God willing, shall receive speedily by colonel Jones, who hath undertaken that pains.

Give me leave humbly to beg one favour of your honour, that you will be pleased to acquaint the ho-

[f] Lord Bulkeley himself, with lord Byron, escaped. See *Whitlocke, October* 2.

nourable house, that colonel Lowthian commanded the party that first entered the island, and led on the foot in the battle yesterday, which did the greatest part of the service; it being a place of such strong hedges and ditches, that the horse could do little service; and unto whom, as a great means, under God, must be ascribed the greatest part of this victory.

Besides, it is manifest unto all these parts of the kingdom what service he hath done for the parliament, with all faithful respect, from the beginning: which if it will not be thought presumption in me, I humbly entreat that the honourable house would be pleased to confer some badge of their favour upon him, in that measure their wisdoms shall think fit his merits deserve; and that they will pardon the boldness of

Your honour's faithful and most humble servant,

THO. MYTTON.

Beaumaris,
Sept. 28, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I have formerly represented to the committee at Derby house, how far I have prosecuted your business in relation to the commands I did receive from them. To wit, that I having sent a party of horse with a summons to Berwick, and a letter to the committee of estates, which I supposed did con-

sist of the earl of Lanerick and his participates, and a letter of kindness and affection to the marquis of Argyle, and the well affected party in arms at Edinburgh, with credence to colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe, scout-master of the army, to let them know upon what grounds and with what intentions we came into their kingdom; and how that, in the mean time, the marquis of Argyle and the rest at Edinburgh had sent sir Andrew Carn, laird of Gramhead, and major Strangham to me, with a letter and papers of instructions, expressing their good affection to the kingdom of England, and disclaiming the late engagement; together with my answer to the said letters and papers; duplicates of all which I sent to the committee at Derby house, and therefore forbear to trouble you with the things themselves.

I think now fit to give you an account, what further progress has been made in your business. The two armies being drawn up, the one under Lanerick and Monro at Sterling, and the other under the earl of Leven and lieutenant-general Leslie betwixt that and Edinburgh, the heads of the two armies being upon treaties concerning their own affairs; and I having given (as I hoped) sufficient satisfaction concerning the justice of your cause, and the clearness of my intentions in entering that kingdom, did, upon Thursday, the one and twentieth of September, and two days before, (the Tweed being fordable,) march over Tweed at Norham into Scotland, with

four regiments of horse and some dragoons, and six regiments of foot, and there quartered, my head quarters being at the lord Mordington's house; where hearing of the marquis of Argyle, the lord Elcoe, and some others, were coming to me from the committee of estates assembled at Edinburgh, I went on Friday, the two and twentieth of September, some part of the way to wait upon his lordship; who, when he was come to his quarters, delivered me a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, signed by the lord chancellor, by warrant of the committee of estates; and after some time spent in giving and receiving mutual satisfaction concerning each other's integrity and clearness, (wherein I must be bold to testify for that noble lord the marquis, the lord Elcoe, and the other gentlemen with him, that I have found nothing in them than what becomes Christians, and men of honour,) the next day it was resolved, that the command of the committee of estates to the governor of Berwick, for rendering the town, should be sent to him by the lord Elcoe and colonel Scott, which accordingly was done: but he, pretending that he had not received the command of that place from those hands that now demanded it of him, desired liberty to send to the earl of Lanerick, engaging himself then to give his positive answer, and intimating it should be satisfactory.

Whilst these things were in transacting, I ordered major-general Lambert to march towards Edinburgh

with six regiments of horse and a regiment of dragoons; who accordingly did so, and quartered in East Lothian, within six miles of Edinburgh, the foot lying in his rear at Coperspeth and thereabouts.

Upon Friday, the 29th of September, came an order from the earl of Lanerick, and divers other lords of his party, requiring the governor of Berwick to march out of the town; which accordingly he did on Saturday, the last of September; at which time I entered it, having placed a garrison there for your use. The governor would fain have capitulated for the English, but we, having the advantage upon him, would not hear of it; so that they are submitted to your mercy, and are under the consideration of sir Arthur Haslerig, who (I believe) will give you a good account of them; and who has already turned out the malignant major, and put an honest man in his room.

I have also received an order for Carlisle, and have sent colonel Bright, with horse and foot, to receive it: sir Andrew Carn and colonel Scott being gone with him, to require an observance of the order; there having been a treaty and an agreement betwixt the two parties in arms in Scotland to disband all forces, except fifteen hundred horse and foot under the command of the earl of Leven, which are to be kept to see all remaining forces disbanded. And having some other things to desire, from the committee of estates at Edinburgh, for your service, I am myself

going thitherward this day; and so soon as I shall be able to give you a further account thereof, I shall do it.

In the mean time I make it my desire, that the garrison of Berwick (into which I have placed a regiment of foot, and shall be attended also by a regiment of horse) may be provided for; and that sir Arthur Haslerig may receive commands to supply it with guns and ammunition from Newcastle, and be otherwise enabled by you to furnish this garrison with all other necessaries, according as a place of that importance will require.

Desiring that these mercies may beget trust and thankfulness to God, the only author of them, and an improvement of them to his glory, and the good of this poor kingdom, I rest

Your most humble servant,

Berwick,
October 2, 1648.

O. CROMWELL.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having received several complaints from the country about the soldiers taking free quarter, notwithstanding their constant paying of their assessments for the army; and finding the soldiers much troubled to hear the many sad complaints of those with whom they quarter, and their

own inability to answer the expectations of the country in that particular; some regiments having not received any pay these eighteen weeks last past, and none above a month's pay in that time, (except those two regiments lately in Kent;) upon the consideration of which, I could not but, in discharge of my trust to the parliament and kingdom, humbly represent these things unto you; which, if not speedily remedied, and the country eased of free quarter, by enabling the soldiers to pay their quarters, I fear it may be a rise of disturbances in the country, and distractions amongst the soldiery: which I thought it my duty to represent unto you; and remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

St. Alban's,
October 2, 1648.

THE EARL OF WARWICK TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—About the beginning of the last week, I despatched a ketch to England, with some letters to your lordships, communicating the then condition of the fleet, and of affairs here. I represented to your lordships the state of our victualling, and that some of the ships were near out of provisions: to those letters I have not yet received any answer. I have since considered

and consulted, (with as much seriousness as I was able,) whether the fleet going from hence or staying here some time may most conduce to the public service; and find it most safe and serviceable to continue here, both for the further exhausting and distracting of the enemy, the keeping him from getting forth without proportionable strength ready to pursue him, and for attending such other opportunities as shall be presented; and am accordingly resolved, if your lordships shall not otherwise direct. For the enabling hereof, I have taken as good course as I can for getting a supply of victuals in these parts, which, I suppose, may reach to seven days for the whole fleet. And because the ascertaining of a further supply, and the keeping of the fleet in a capacity of action, are so extreme necessary, I shall beseech your lordships (in case this resolution be approved of) that the committee and commissioners of the navy may be consulted with, about sending speedily one or more vessels hither with about six weeks' provision for the fleet here, containing in all about two thousand two hundred men. The reason I pitch upon that proportion is, not only in reference to our stay, but that, in case any of the revolters should get out, I may be in a condition to appoint fit vessels to attend their motions; and those vessels may not be out of a posture to pursue such commands, in order to their reduction, and the preserving of trade.

I sent, in my last letter, the state of the several

ships' victualling, (and I do herewith send a duplicate,) wherein likewise consideration is to be had of the ill quality of some of the beer and provisions aboard some of the ships.

I shall further offer to your lordships' consideration, whether it may not be convenient and necessary (which I think it is) to have bills of exchange ready for receiving money in Holland, to content such of the seamen as shall earnestly press for some money, before more victuals taken in; I fearing the want thereof may otherwise hazard a distemper in some of them, though I shall endeavour to satisfy them, till their coming to England.

Here is no alteration of things here, other than that admiral Van Trump, with his own and about fifteen other Dutch men of war, do lie in the midway betwixt this fleet and the revolters.

I desire your lordships, &c. will please to signify your pleasure in answer hereof, with the first opportunity. And so taking leave, I rest

Your lordships'

Very affectionate and humble servant,

WARWICK.

Aboard the St. George,
riding before Goree,
Oct. 2, 1648.

LORD GORING TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—On Sunday last, after dinner, I received from your serjeant's man the order of your honourable house of commons of the 28th of the last, signifying the ordinance for attainting me of high treason, which hath been once read in that house, and is to be proceeded in on Thursday next; and that, if I desire to be heard, the house will be willing to hear me. To which, in all humility, I return this sudden answer, (being destitute of such helps as this place cannot afford me in any hand:) that as, on the one side, I would not fail of the due respects I bear to that honourable house; so, on the other, being a peer of the realm, and having ever understood that no peer ought to be tried but by his peers, according to Magna Charta and other good laws of this land, I most humbly desire the like liberty, being my just right, and the privilege of every peer.

Besides, sir, I humbly conceive, that what I have acted as a soldier under the prince's commission, derived from his majesty to him, hath been so clearly remitted to me for matter of life, by the lord general Fairfax,[5] first assured us by his prime officers, and the

[5] The house of commons had "much debate about this business;" (*Rushworth, Oct.* 6.) and in the end it was referred to Fairfax, to explain his letter to the house with respect to the terms granted by him to lord Goring. Fairfax answered, that the quarter given by him to lord Goring "did not extend to any other but the military power; and that he was notwith-

day following again confirmed by his own mouth, (he then doing us the honour to bestow, though his own prisoners, a visit upon us, which, as I am credibly assured, hath been by his letters signified to the house,) as I hope I shall not be otherwise proceeded against for the same in any other court whatsoever.

And more than this, sir, being, as I have said, destitute of all counsel, or other helps necessary in such a case, where my life, honour, and posterity is so nearly concerned, I shall not at present importune you withal; but conclude with my humble suit, that, for the reasons aforesaid, I may have redress in the two points above mentioned; which being granted me, with some competent liberty, (being now a prisoner of war in this place, and far from all means and advice for so weighty a work,) I shall be most ready to answer for myself in such sort as shall be agreeable to the laws of this land, and right of the peerage of the realm; ever paying that due and entire respect to the honourable house as shall become theirs and yours

Most faithful humble servant,

GORING and NORWICH.

P.S. Sir, I must humbly beg your pardon for this

standing liable to trial and judgment by the civil power." *Whitlocke, Oct.* 23. Goring was afterwards tried, and found guilty; but on the debate, whether he should be beheaded or not, the votes were equal, and the speaker gave the casting vote in his favour. See *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 258.

ill hand; but I thought it far more respect to send it so, than by another fairer. All else I can say is, that I will not despair yet, ere I die, how near whatsoever, to gain a better opinion of that honourable house, to which I have ever been so devote a servant.

Windsor Castle,
Oct. 3, 1648.

MR. THOMAS SCOTT TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I am not ignorant what cold acceptance unsuccessful services may expect, and though I have cause enough to presume mine may prove no other, yet it shall never repent me to have set myself to serve any commands of yours, (which I shall endeavour with a faithful heart,) whatever the returns may be, owning no power on earth which I more truly honour, or more willingly obey.

Sir, I was commissionated by your order to be assistant to the committee formerly appointed to examine the duke,[h] and such others as were taken in

[h] The duke of Hamilton; who, in consequence of the treaty between the king and Scots, while the former was in the Isle of Wight, had marched with an army into England, but was beaten and taken prisoner by Cromwell's forces, under the command of colonel Lambert, at Uttoxeter. See *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 71, &c.

the late defeat of the Scottish and northern forces; which when I considered, and compared the power with the papers in my hand, I thought it insufficient to the end propounded; most of those letters which we had being intercourses between sir Marmaduke Langdale and one Holder,[1] (which goes by the name of the prince's agent, was taken near the exchange by some of major-general Skippon's volunteers, and) now a prisoner in Windsor castle; by which I found him the greatest wheel in all that northern engine, if not of the whole design that lately broke out against you in so many parts and counties of the kingdom; and had done in more, and more fatally, if the same good hand of providence (which hath carried on your undertakings in his and his people's cause, with such marvellous workings as no story can parallel) had not graciously disappointed and confounded it.

I find him, by these papers, the channel through which most of those streams of wickedness ran: a kind of ocean that received all the rivers into its bosom, and transmitted them, by secret and underground conveyances, to rise again where they might most fitly serve their great end, your end and destruction, communicating the commands he had from France and the Isle of Wight, supplies of men,

[1] Holder was agent to prince Charles. He is only once mentioned by Whitlocke, on occasion of his escape from imprisonment after the death of the king. See *Whitlocke, Jan.* 31, 1648 [9.]

money, and ammunition from the city, and intelligence from your houses to the north, west, and where not, of which I shall say no more at present; but this observation made me judge his examination (being previous) might be of great use: yet, finding your commands of my service made diurnal news, by which I fear it may somewhat suffer, I did not move you to enlarge my commission, but applied myself to Derby house, where I understood they had designed the same thing; and, upon some intimation, they added to their own agent another [k] member of yours and myself, giving us, or either of us, power to examine this Holder.

Thus instructed, on Saturday last I advanced to Windsor, and that night expected my fellow-commissioner: but other occasions directing him another way, on Sabbath in the evening we applied to the work; where we found the man, according to the nature of the greatest wheels and principles of motion, shy and silent, reserving himself under the wary guard of not answering any thing that might tend to his own accusation; and that if any thing criminal were laid to his charge, he would submit only to law, and a legal proceeding concerning it; inferring, by implication, that parliamentary disquisitions were not so legal as he wished. We replied as occasion served,

[k] Scott was member of parliament for Aylesbury, and at the formation of the commonwealth was appointed a member of the council of state. See *Whitlocke, Feb.* 14, 1648 [9.]

but let it rest upon that night; and the next day charged him with some interrogatories, which I extracted from the contents of his own letters; which though he would not answer positively, but under that guard and reservation, yet we found it astonished him. And lastly, not to trouble you further with this first expedition, after some velitations and skirmishes on our parts, and wheelings and tergiversations on his, putting forth the best industry and artifice that we had, we got an acknowledgment that all these letters were (if not vitiated and corrupted since he wrote them) of his own hand-writing; by which I presume there is enough to hang twenty honester men by those known laws of the land, and the birthright to claim so much.

Sir, The particulars thereby discovered I shall forbear, lest I be guilty of my own diurnal, till, having improved them to the uttermost, you command a report of them.

I got not hither yesterday till near midnight: I shall not reach past Northampton this day, but hope to-morrow to wait upon the committee at Leicester, or where else I shall find them, with my best endeavours to serve you, and receive your further commands, as becomes him that is

Your unworthiest member and humblest servant,

THO. SCOTT.

Aylesbury,
Oct. 3, 1648.

I understood at Windsor, that you will be moved for a supply of maintenance for that garrison, by enabling the committee of the county to fell a proportion of the duke of Bucks's timber. I hope it will seem reasonable to allow such additions as may enable and encourage this county to continue their wonted affections, and pay their troop raised in the service upon the late insurrections, in the whole not exceeding £5000, in pollards and perishing trees, designed by himself to be felled, and no ways of prejudice to the public.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Upon the desire of divers noblemen and others of the kingdom of Scotland, I am bold to become a suitor to you on the behalf of this gentleman, the bearer, colonel Robert Montgomery, son-in-law to the earl of Eglinton, whose faithfulness to you in the late troubles may render him worthy of a far greater favour than I shall at this time desire for him: for I can assure you, that there is not a gentleman of that kingdom that appeared more active against the late invaders of England than himself.

Sir, It is desired that you would please to grant him an order for two thousand of the common prisoners that were of duke Hamilton's army. You

will have very good security that they shall not for the future trouble you: he will ease you of the charge of keeping them, as speedily as any other way you can dispose of them; besides their being in a friend's hands, so as there need be no fear of their being ever employed against you.

Sir, What favour you shall please to afford the gentleman, will very much oblige many of your friends of the Scottish nation, and particularly

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Dalhousie, near Edinburgh,
Oct. 8, 1648.

ARTHUR EVELYN TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—This day, by order under your hand, bearing date the 23rd August, 1648, there was brought unto the castle of Wallingford, Mr. Daniel Jenkins, a prisoner, whom I shall endeavour to keep strict and safe, according to your commands: but I beseech you be pleased to take notice, that there is never a prison, nor strong place fit to make a prison of, within this castle; and were it not that the prisoner is a very aged man, unable to make an escape, I could not in reason undertake his security.

Sir, I am forced to displace one of the officers of this garrison, to let the prisoner have a room to lodge in: and I humbly offer it to the consideration of the

honourable house of commons; whether it can be safe for the garrison to admit of any more prisoners until such time as there be a strong prison built, whereby I shall be in a capacity to serve the house according to their commands: which is the only aim of him who is,

Sir,
Your most humble servant,
AR. EVELYN.[1]

Wallingford Castle,
Oct. 11, 1648.

SIR WILLIAM LEWIS TO SIR JOHN POTTS.

SIR,—I received your favour of the 9th; and you will understand, by the votes of our house, that we do not like of your church work.[m] I must confess, that his majesty having so far justified us by his assent to our first proposition, and secured us by the militia, that there is a great judgment upon these kingdoms, if we should differ upon the rest, so as to become

[1] Governor of Wallingford. *Whitlocke, July* 28, 1646.

[m] The king had consented to the settling of the militia, as proposed by the parliament; and to confirm, for three years, the form of church government and directory for worship presented to him. But he would not consent to abolish episcopacy. On debate in the house, whether the king's paper, "as concerning matter of religion, was satisfactory or not? it was voted in the negative; and that till the proposition for religion were signed, they should not proceed further in the debate." See *Whitlocke, October* 11, 1648.

liable to the miseries of a future war, though I find you far from any accord in the business of the church; through the sides whereof men will, by so divers ways, drive at their divers ends. God of his mercy direct a good issue therein.

All letters will bring you our vote for the large call of serjeants,[n] the filling up of the benches, and thereby the preferment of some of our worthy members.

If I hear of Mr. Dresset, I shall not fail him of the little I can do to further his despatch, as you desire; without which, your attendance cannot but be less pleasing.

Sir, I wish your return with the olive branch; remaining yours to serve you,

WILL. LEWIS.[o]

October 12, 1648.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I have received a letter from the committee of York, whereby I perceive they seem to be very much troubled at the coming down of colonel Rainsborough's regiment to their assistance, without having moneys to pay their quarters. I conceive that service for the reducing

[n] See Whitlocke, October 12.

[o] Member of parliament for Petersfield.

of Pontefract castle is so needful, that not only that regiment, but what else the lieutenant-general can spare, will be very convenient to be sent thither to expedite that work, the enemy hitherto daily sallying out, and doing much inconveniency and prejudice to the country.

I do therefore offer to your lordships' consideration, whether those county forces shall continue there still; or rather that the army, now the greatest work being done northward, may attend that service, and the county forces disposed of, or disbanded, for the ease of the country. I moved the committee of the army for the pay of colonel Rainsborough's regiment, but moneys coming in so slowly it could not be: and it would be very convenient that constant pay were thought of; for that part of the army shall solely attend that service, if your lordships approve of the undertaking of it, which I leave to your consideration; and remain

Your lordships' humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

St. Alban's,
Oct. 14, 1648.

SIR JOHN EVELYN TO SIR J. POTTS.

SIR,—If you have worse thoughts of the Scots than you had, I will assure you I have no better;

and so we are very like to agree in that point. Let them appear for kirk or king, it is all one to me: they are still Scots.

I am very glad of our justification, and shall be as glad of our security: hoping you find cause there to believe all is freely and cordially granted, and resolved to be kept; such an assurance from you will much encourage me. But promise not yourself too much from the house upon that score: for though I never laid weight in the second proposition,[p] you will find your old brother Price do; and that you shall hear on both ears, if you work not his majesty to a better understanding.

I hear of things abroad, but truly know nothing and hope better, else we shall be left a pretty thing, that neither will nor can keep promise with any sort of men. Let things fall how they will, I am sure I am, and will be,

Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

J. EVELYN.

Oct. 18, 1648.

MR. J. FRANCIS TO SIR J. POTTS.

SIR,—I came to parliament on Monday last, and was glad to understand, by your public transactions,

[p] For the abolition of episcopacy.

the treaty to be in so hopeful a way: your private letters gave me fuller satisfaction therein, and of the success thereof. For the supply of your moneys, Mr. Siderfield moved; but I know not what success he had, I hope well: when I hear it spoken of, I shall serve you the best I can.

It is expected here, that the treaty, at the rate his majesty and the commissioners go, should be finished by Saturday sevennight: at least, his majesty should declare how far he would go, if he stick at any of the propositions, it being conceived he will pass all. I do much apprehend the business of the church, but the propositions touching it will yet entertain much debate before agreed: but this is my private opinion, and therefore I hope I may be deceived.

I have presented your service to sir Thomas Pelham, whom God hath given a lusty boy; and my daughter as well as a woman in her case can be.

Sir,

I am your most humble servant,

J. FRANCIS.

From my house in the Strand,
Oct. 19, 1648.

SANCROFT TO MR. T. HOLDSWORTH.

DEAR TOM,—With a salvo to thy first period, the bad weather hath cozened me: for whereas I thought

to have despatched and been with you by this time. I am a prisoner to storms and tempests, and must either return without seeing all my friends, or stay from you longer: which how unwillingly I do, thou mayest the better guess, if thou rememberest that, besides thy old dearnesses, thou hast lately laid new obligations upon me. I thank thee, good friend, for the chapel and the chamber, &c. I had almost gone on with Pliny and the rest, from time to time, &c. but I forbear till I see thee, and then thanks shall be my common-place: a poor requital for two such as thine were.

But hark you, no northern journeys this winter, unless you be mad. But if you be desperately of the mind to undo yourself, I prythee leave behind thee thy two compl. sealed up, and directed to me: with those I will *solari absentiam tuam*. But I hope the doctor will stop your flight, and not suffer you to leave R. D. K. and R. S. T. to get cold without you.

I hope my pupils are all well, and do well, because I hear nothing from you to the contrary, My love to S^{r} Davenport and Proby in special. But why no news of Mr. Tuckney? Did he come? is he gone? was there an election?[q] These things I am not satisfied in, and yet intend to be with you the week after next, when I shall have seen Norwich, and answered

[q] To the office of vice-chancellor of Cambridge, to which Tuckney was afterwards appointed.

for a nephew of mine, who is lately come into the world, and would have me be a witness that he is a Christian.

Dear Tom, Deliver the inclosed, with my respects and service too, to worthy Mr. Tasker, and the rest of our Friday friends, when thou seest them: and, however, go on purpose to my dear cousin Barker, and tell him I am his servant. I am sorry I missed him at St. Mary's, but promise myself in your memory a supply of my absence.

No more, Tom, but that I am thine most affectionately,

W. S.

Oct. 21, 1648.

MR. SANCROFT TO MR. WIDDRINGTON.

Worthy Sir,—I am here in Sloughland, in the midst of quicks and quagmires, but know not how to get out of them, without the help of Pacolet's horse, or a team of Ganzas of Domingo Gonzales's breed. Here are so many bogs and rebels, that were the women but a little more generally sluts, and the cloaks turned into rugs, I should pronounce myself in Ireland, and venture to date this from Knockfergus, instead of Freshingfield. Otherwise, (but that the houses stand at too much distance,) I am tempted to dream myself in the city of Venice. I am sure we are every way five miles at least to the

terra firma; so that when we go forth, I am ready to call aloud for a gondola; and when we return, we are sure to land at puddle wharf.

I came hither to see my friends: but how should I come at them? We walk not, but wade forth indeed sometimes to take the air, and go over sea to our next neighbour; and though the house be within ken, yet we may say, as Martial of Novius, *Nemo tam prope tam proculque nobis.*

Ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
Λίμναι τε, ποταμοί τε, θαλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα.

Hogs here return no more to their wallowing, for they, and all creatures else, are continually in the mire. Briefly, the place I live in is like those twenty cities Solomon gave Hiram—the land of Cabul, the land of dirt. And yet would you think it, a Saniack, with his Timariots, were got hither before me, through all these discouragements, to enslave the poor Christians that are left? some few gentlemen who are scattered here and there, but broken and shattered, like so many half-demolished crosses, to preserve the memory of our former Christendom.

And yet, sir, I would have you know it, we have preaching still amongst us. In our parish, the wainscot groans under a beardless elder, as very a lay presbyter as ever Geneva dreamt of; one that had, I think, served out half his apprenticeship, and is now set up in another trade, the undoing of the Apocalypse. Ever since the defeat of that Scottish anti-

christ, in Lancashire, he cries aloud from the pulpit, "Babylon is fallen;" and having transmuted his quondam brethren into Gog and Magog, he is now puzzling his geography to find Artageddon about Preston and Warrington bridge.

I know you must needs expect suitable disputes to so precious a Rabbi; take a taste of them. One, a carpenter, as if he had hewn out Moses's tables with his own chip-axe, knows the utmost extent of the law; and can keep it, and do whatsoever else is required, to perfection: and is very sorry there are but ten commandments; for if there were as many more he could keep them all. Another, his own fellow, and of the same presumption, yet, I know not how, the other day, unhappily forgot the sixth commandment, and offered a hatchet at his wife so furiously, that, had she not fled to the next justice for refuge, he might have proved a perfect Boccold, and have acted the same tragedy upon her as John of Leyden did upon the queen of Israel.

And now, since it is so lewd a place I sojourn in, a place, both in the literal and metaphorical sense, of the worst ways imaginable, you might justly wonder what detains me here so long, &c.

Oct. 21, 1648.

Lest you might wonder such a country as this should be called High Suffolk, but that the critics tell us *altum et profundum* make no real difference.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—The prince of Wales hath the smallpox, but, as we hear, is very well, and out of all danger. Prince Rupert will leave no element unattempted in which he may hope to work the parliament mischief: he is now made commander-in-chief of the revolted ships, and intends, with all speed, to go to sea, if he can get out; for he must pass by my lord of Warwick, whom I have given timely and full notice of his design, by a servant of my own who is returned to me again with my lord's resolution to keep him in.

Mr. Bence writes to me, they fear not his strength. My man tells me, the mariners told him they would take both the prince and his dog, if he came out; and, sir, I found the common mariners very honest when I was aboard. Mr. Crofts[r] came lately out of France, from the queen of England, to the Hague; presently after whose coming, this resolution was taken, of sending prince Rupert to sea, general and admiral, as I hear, so as it is most probable the design is laid in France: what it is, is uncertain; but what may be collected by conjectures, is something to be done at the Isle of Wight: others say, his rendezvous is Ireland. Great and irreconcileable enmity is betwixt him and my lord Cole-

[r] Crofts was employed to endeavour to wean the earl of Warwick from his allegiance to the parliament. See *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 69.

pepper, as they here style him; insomuch, as one of the prince's great creatures, sir Robert Welsh, a papist, struck my lord Colepepper; which men think was by prince Rupert's instigation. Divers of the merchants, whose ships were taken in the Downs, have compounded for them: which money doth in a great measure make to the getting out of this fleet of prince Rupert's; though those goods were forbidden to be sold here, by an order of the States: but power and favour made the order not so well observed.

I shall not fail to inform my lord of Warwick of what concerns him in respect of their proceedings here. Were it not that letters tell us of a treaty of peace, I could not think of any such thing by what I hear and see from the cavaliers here: their thoughts I know not, but their words and actions are as much as ever for war, and speak of nothing but revenge; and certainly their minds are not for peace: it may be their hands are weak, not their hearts.

It is said, that Batten and Jordan go not with prince Rupert: but Allen, an old pirate, and many others of that kind, are entertained to ruin our merchants; many of which seem to love them more that rob them, than those that endeavour to serve them. The friends of the revolted ships endeavour to get the States' ships to favour their going out: but the States' ships have order to be neutral, as they say. How they will keep it, I know not. I hear

the prince shall go out with eight ships, and no more. The duke of York is gone to Mr. Henflet's house at Tyluring, in respect of the nature of the prince's sickness.

A peace is concluded in Germany, very prejudicial to the prince elector.

Poyntz, who had the honour to serve the parliament in a very great command, was so unworthy as to be in the Downs with the revolted ships; and yet, as I hear, is now as little esteemed by them as by us: which I am glad to hear, that those whose consciences make their swords cut both ways, may know their wages in the scorn of both.

I hope time will discover all that walk one way and look another.

Sir,

I am your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hagh, $\frac{\text{Oct. 26,}}{\text{Nov. 5,}}$ 1648.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having, ever since the beginning of the first distractions, had constant experience of colonel Morgan's fidelity in your service, I could not but do him that right, as humbly to present his petition to the consideration of the house. And as to that particular of his desire concerning Ireland, I conceive his motion to be very seasonable, now that

the army is to be reduced to a lesser number: it being much for your service, that such disbanded men may be rather employed into Ireland, than to be sent discontented home; we having had experience, at the last reducement, that most of those who were then dismissed went to the enemy, and engaged, this last summer, both in Kent and Essex, against the parliament.

Colonel Jones hath writ unto me from Dublin, of the great want he hath of men now; that he hath enlarged his quarters, by taking in some of the enemy's strong holds: and I cannot recommend unto you a fitter or more able man, for that service in Ireland, than this bearer, colonel Morgan; which I desire you to present to the consideration of the house. And if they think fit to give way thereunto, I shall be very willing and ready to further his raising of his regiment for the said service.

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

St. Alban's,
October 27, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy gentleman, lieutenant-colonel Cholmeley, to entreat your favour in his behalf.

The case stands thus. His son, major Cholmeley,

who was bold in the fight against the Scots at Berwick, was custom-master at Carlisle: the gentleman merited well from you. Since his death, his aged father, having lost this his eldest son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavours to procure the place for a younger son, who had likewise been in your service; and resolving to obtain my letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an under-tenant of the place to his son with this his purpose, to come to me to the borders of Scotland, to obtain the said letter, which the said servant did say was very well. And when the said lieutenant-colonel was come for my letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, prefers a petition to the house of commons, gets a reference to the committee of the navy, who approve of the said man, by the mediation of some gentlemen: but I hear there is a stop of it in the house.

My humble suit to you is, that if colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business, (I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it,) you would be pleased to further his desire concerning lieutenant-colonel Cholmeley's youngest son, that he may have the place conferred upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith. By which you will very much oblige

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Burroughbridge,
Oct. 28, 1648.

SIR DUDLEY NORTH[s] TO SIR J. POTTS.

Sir,—I received your letter of the 21st of this month on Saturday last, which was the 28th day, being then come out of the country, and so yours (which was intended as a cordial) proved a reprehension to me for my absence. If my private occasions were faulty in withdrawing me for that time, I shall hereafter punish them, with paying damages by my future diligence in relation to the public.

Most of my business this day hath been to bring myself into the light again, by conference with friends concerning what hath past in my absence: and when I sum up what hath passed at the Isle of Wight, I cannot but say, that you, the commissioners, (and something else,) have wrought wonders in bringing the matter of the treaty to the condition which it is now in.[t] Yet I find, by those that pretend to have observed the temper of the house, that unless there be a yielding *in terminis*, there is no great hope of a happy winding up within doors, besides what a standing out might produce abroad: whence we may perhaps have some interruptions, howsoever, as some will have it.

[s] Member of parliament for Cambridgeshire.

[t] The king had consented to abolish archbishops, deans, and chapters, and the whole hierarchy, save bishops; and that the episcopal government should be suspended for three years: the parliament however voted, that his concessions were unsatisfactory. See *Whitlocke, Oct.* 23, 27.

You see that the favour of your remembrance makes me give me you an accompt of the discourses which I have met withal. I assure myself that you will have much more particular and certain intelligence from others to supply my defect; and I hope you will neither want diligence, nor success in your future proceedings, so as to put to the blush all those that shall endeavour to continue the miseries of this kingdom, by an absolute frustrating of this treaty, which hath given so great an expectation to the people.

Sir, I am not able to serve you in any thing mentioned in your letter, but in the making known your remembrance of the friends of both houses which you have named: some of them I have spoken with already, and I shall seek opportunity to do it with the rest; and sorry I am to have no other occasion to express how readily you shall be served on all occasions, by your affectionate friend and servant,

D. North.

Westminster,
Oct. 30, 1648.

FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—We humbly crave leave, amidst your many and weighty affairs, to acknowledge our deep obligations to that honourable house for your great

favours to this seminary of piety and arts; by whose goodness and bounty they begin now to live and move again. We must ever mention, with all thankfulness, the care you have had for purging these fountains; and that, notwithstanding all the burdens that lay upon you, and public pressures, you have devised liberal things for the encouragement of learning. So that, were there no other argument, this place alone were enough to confute that unjust calumny of perverse men, that you intend to bring in darkness and barbarism on this knowing nation.

Sir, Your actions of so much honour and justice will endure the day; they need not dark times to cover them: and we trust that now, when God hath given you rest from your enemies round about, and from the oppressing sword, you shall see some fruit of your travail here; a pious and learned generation standing up in this place to bless you, and continually to pray for you, and the peace of the nation.

Sir, We, having had such plentiful experience of your honourable favours, are emboldened further to beseech you humbly, in the behalf of piety and learning, that, out of your special affection to both, you will be pleased to countenance and promote our humble desires, which we are now presenting in a petition to your honourable house; that so this university may continue to enjoy a comfortable support for those public ends.

We shall no further presume at present; but only

pray that God would protect you, and prosper the councils of your honourable house for the settling of truth and peace and learning in the nation.

Sir, These are the humble desires of your most obliged servant,

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

From the Convocation House in Oxford, Nov. 1, 1648.

MR. SANCROFT TO MR. THOMAS HOLDSWORTH.

DEAR TOM,—I thought to have seen you before this time, but it will not be. My loving friends here throw so many charms about me, that I cannot break through them; they have so many devices to detain me, that it is as hard to get away hence as out of a parliament prison. Yet I shall not be long away; this week (ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ Θεὸς) shall put an end to my journeyings, and restore you to your liberty. Interim, I send my thanks before, to tell you that even at this distance I feel the warmth of your affection, and am refreshed with it.

I and all mine, Tom, fare the better for thee; and renounce me, when I forget it. I had a letter from the good doctor[v] this week, and in compliance with it am hastening to Cambridge as fast as may be; yet

[v] Dr. Holdsworth.

cannot design the very day, because I have company to come with me, whose resolutions I am not master of, if of mine own. Let this serve for an excuse to my worthy and most honoured friend Mr. Widdrington, why I appoint not a meeting with him at Bury, as he desired in his last. If you see him, or my dear cousin Barker, or any of our friends, before I come, present my love and respects to them: however, on Friday night, I hope to tell them all I am their servant.

My sizer, Manne, brings along with him a bundle directed to you, in which there is linen and money. I pray lay it by safe till I come, which shall be with all possible speed. In the mean time, with my loving respects to Mr. Dillingham, Mr. Adams, and my brother Vernon, and my hearty affection to thee, Tom, I subscribe myself, what thou hast by a thousand obligations made me,

Thy most cordial and real friend,

W. S.

Nov. 4, 1648.

If Mr. Carleton (a Londoner) comes to admit his son before I return, I pray desire one of the three fellows I mentioned to do me the favour; and do you assist, and direct him in providing necessaries, &c. and put him into sizer Rawlett's study. The income is about fifty shillings. I write at this time, too, to Dr. Holdsworth, when I intend to be at Cambridge;

and so I think Mr. Carleton's journey will be stayed till then: however, I have now provided *in omnem eventum*.—Adieu.

THOMAS HARMAN TO ———."

SIR,—Yours of the 24th of October I received: and as for the correspondences you write of, I had continued; but, by reason of the great distance, durst not venture any matter of consequence, till I were sure of a safe conveniency, which now I shall not doubt to meet withal.

My lord lieutenant, and all your friends, having advanced so near as Kilkenny on Saturday last, matters being in a manner agreed on between his lordship and the confederates; the test is somewhat concerning the churches and religion, which is thought now to be removed, referring themselves wholly to his majesty's breast, both for that, a free parliament, and all other matters; so that, now the whole government being in my lord lieutenant, it is not doubted but Owen O'Neile will submit unto.

And as for that party you are of, (unto whom I protest I wish all happiness,) especially if you hold to your former principles and protestations of duty, service, and loyalty to his majesty's commands and authority, which is in the power of my lord marquis

" Indorsed "Harman Ignoto."

of Ormond, for the settlement and government of this kingdom, and the bringing them to their former obediency; to the effecting of which, your assistance would not only give a speedy period in this kingdom, but also a main help of settling his majesty in his just rights and prerogatives in England; with assurance we have, that the lord of Warwick, with his fleet, hath submitted to the prince: this being so, be pleased to consider what condition you are like to be in.

Sir, You are very sparing of your news, for we have far more here than you write to me; as the sending your agent over, &c. I earnestly desire to be informed what course you conceive is to be taken with our fellow-officers that are prisoners.

Mr. Lane presents his respects and service to you, and sends this declaration of my lord lieutenant's; which he is confident will give you, and all true Protestants, ample satisfaction.

Sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

THOMAS HARMAN.

Kilkenny,
November 7, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE COMMITTEE AT DERBY HOUSE.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—Give me leave to acquaint your lordships, that the day before the

time formerly limited for treaty ended, and before it was known here to be renewed, I thought it my duty, in regard to the great trust the parliament had placed upon me in receiving (on their behalf) the king's parole, and because there was not any could positively witness to the circumstances of the engagement, except sir Peter Killigrew, to move the king to confirm his said parole, in acquainting the commissioners of parliament that he had so passed his word, as desired and ordered by both houses; which accordingly he did, as the said honourable commissioners will better inform your lordships.

The next day, and at the commissioners' taking their leaves of the king, I having had intimation of a doubt, whether guards (as was pretended arguing a distrust) being kept upon the king, his said parole were not thereby made void, I pressed the king, before them, to declare whether he made any such question; if so, that he would please to utter it. He, seeming somewhat surprised, desired time to consider it, professing not to have thought on it before. But I, perceiving the danger of such a reserve, pressed him with greater earnestness to a clear declaration of himself in the point; telling him, that otherwise his parole signified nothing; and desired his positive answer, as the case now stood with him. His majesty avoided it long. I then told him, that if the centinels at his door (I having kept no other since the engagement of his word) were offensive to him, and

would absolutely clear him in that question he seemed to make scruple, they should be taken off, (they being only set to keep off people from pressing into his lodgings,) and placed at a further distance, with the guard which is kept to preserve his majesty's person from violence; assuring him, I only depended upon his word, which the parliament had pleased to accept, for his not removing out of the island. He told me, it would be then more clear, and that four or five several times: at length, upon my importunity, not being to be satisfied with a doubtful answer, he concluded himself to be obliged by his parole, if the said centinels were taken away; which I then promised him should be done, before the commissioners, and accordingly it was immediately observed.

My lords, I thought it my duty to give your lordships an account of these passages, especially hearing that there is likely to be a renewal of his majesty's parole for some longer time; that if your lordships see cause, it may be so put to him, upon such renewal of his said parole, as may take off all such reservations; which possibly may otherwise tend to the disadvantage of the parliament. I am,

My Lords,

Your lordships' most humble servant,

Ro. Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle,
Nov. 7, 1648.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I understand, upon your information of colonel Rainsborough's death,[x] you were pleased to express some respect to him, in consideration of his wife and children; for which myself, the army, and all honest men have cause to thank you. But finding, by this inclosed, that his many losses and considerable expenses in your service were not fully laid before you, I have thought myself engaged, at the instance of Mrs. Rainsborough, to tender her petition unto you; and desire it may receive your favourable answer, with all convenient speed.

If the gallantry and faithfulness of that gentleman in his service to this kingdom were not fully known to every one, I should speak more particularly of him to you; which I omit, only because I apprehend needless, in that I doubt not you retain a due sense of his merits, and will improve the present opportunity to witness your acceptance of them: which is the earnest request of

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

St. Alban's,
Nov. 13, 1648.

[x] Rainsborough had been taken from his bed, and savagely murdered, by a small party of the royalists' army from Pontefract castle. The professed purpose of the murderers was to take him prisoner by surprise. Clarendon calls this a "noble attempt." See *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 119.

DR. HOLDSWORTH TO MR. SANCROFT.

Loving Sir,—The joy of your safe return did abundantly recompense the perplexity of your stay, only it had like to have bred some alterations in Mr. Carleton's purpose: for business coming upon him, he was half resolved to have put off his journey till after Christmas, but hath now fixed upon Monday sevennight, which is the 21st of this month, the Monday before the fast; which will be as well as sooner, seeing Mr. Tuckney[y] comes not till after.

Mr. Tuckney was with me this week, to desire the use of my household goods, and to look somewhat into my study; which I granted him on this condition, that he would use things well, and carry none with him, not so much as to look in, but only himself, and leave no books abroad.

We had some speech of yourself. He bemoaned himself, that you were so strange to him. I argued the case with him, upon the ground of conscience, which I conceived he ought freely to allow you. He very modestly assented, and promised to leave you to your liberty; and would take it very kindly if you would not come to him as a master; yet if but as a friend, he would take it for a special favour, and bid you very

[y] Mr. Tuckney was just now appointed by the parliament to be vice-chancellor of Cambridge. See post, p. 64. His anxiety to be on good terms with Sancroft, speaks most highly in favour of both.

welcome. He promised also to admit any I sent under your name, although you were absent, and came not to ask it.

What end will be of the treaty is uncertain, for just now the army begins to interpose: we wait only upon God. Being in some haste, I must defer all further accounts of it, only to tell you that the second letter you speak of I never received. God keep you. Farewell.

Your affectionate friend,

RI. HOLDSWORTH.

Nov. 18, 1648.

SIR T. FAIRFAX TO COLONEL HAMMOND.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 19th of this instant, whereby I apprehend your great dissatisfaction, trouble, and burden, both in relation to your present employment, and some other things, which has occasioned your address to the house. Therefore I desire you, (before you resolve quitting your trust,) even with all possible speed to repair to me, because I have somewhat to communicate to you of a very public concernment; and doubt not likewise but, upon a true understanding of things, you may receive that satisfaction which will encourage you to continue your charge.

I have herewith sent colonel Ewer, (the fittest person I could think of,) to take care of the island

till you return; and therefore say the less, because I expect so soon to see you.[z]

Your very affectionate friend,

FAIRFAX.

St. Alban's,
Nov. 21, 1648.

CAPTAIN ALEX. BENCE TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—In my letter of the 11th of this present November, I gave you a narrative of the several progresses the lord admiral had made with his fleet, in order to the reduction of the revolted ships, now under the command of prince Rupert, with an account of those that were reduced;[a] intimating how much hopes we had of accomplishing the work we were employed to effect. But because the lord admiral conceived frosty weather near approaching, apprehending danger would ensue if ice should come down the river, and some complaints made to him of our victuals, concluded it could not be safe for the

[z] It was designed by Fairfax and his party to remove the king from the Isle of Wight; but Hammond was unwilling to betray his trust. Fairfax therefore made a pretence to get Hammond away, and sent colonel Ewer to take his place. Hammond left the island on the 28th November. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 23.

[a] The greater part of the revolted ships had submitted to lord Warwick. Prince Rupert took the command of the remainder, and lost or sold them all in the following year. See *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 19.

ships to ride any longer before Helvoetsluys; for these reasons, and some others best known to himself, did resolve, with these ships undisposed of, to go into the Downs, (where we are safely arrived,) there to attend the parliament's commands.

In order to this his lordship's resolution, upon the 21st of this present November he commanded the fleet to weigh anchor, and set sail, which was done accordingly; leaving the enemy close haled up in the Sluys; who have taken some of their sails from their yards, and put their guns ashore, fortifying upon the land, and depriving any appertaining to this fleet the benefit of that shore. I have no more to you at this time, but the service of

Your humble servant,

ALEX. BENCE.

From aboard the St. George,
at anchor in the Downs,
Nov. 23, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Having lately received this inclosed letter[b] from his excellency the lord Fairfax, I thought it my duty to acquaint you with it; and to let you know, the General having the authority of parliament for the commanding of all the forces of this kingdom, and I having no positive instructions from parliament for my constant abode here, nor other of force at this

[b] See before, p. 59.

present, save only to take care that there be a sufficient guard for the safety of this island, and to hinder the taking away of the king's person from hence; upon most serious consideration, finding no way to avoid it, I resolved it my duty to give as speedy obedience to it, as the duty I owe to your commands and services would permit.

I expected before this time to have seen colonel Ewer, by whose hands this inclosed should have been conveyed unto me; but he failing, and the letter being positive for my speedy repair to the General, I resolve, so soon as I can settle, the best I may, the soldiers and inhabitants of this isle, for the best advantages of your services, to take my journey to the head quarters, where I shall be ready to receive your commands, if they come to me before my return, which I purpose, God willing, shall be the next hour after his excellency shall please to dismiss me. If I do not before that time receive your discharge of my unhappy employment, (which I again most humbly and heartily beg of you,) if you please to certify your pleasure to me by this bearer, it shall, to the utmost of my ability, be observed, as becomes him who must ever subscribe himself,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

Ro. Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle,
Nov. 26, 1648.

THE SPEAKER TO LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,—The houses being acquainted by a letter from colonel Hammond, dated the 26th of this present, of your excellency's desire that he should speedily repair unto you, have commanded us to let you know that they cannot possibly dispense with his absence from his charge in the island, in regard of the instructions he hath received from both houses concerning the safety of the king's person, and the security of that place. And therefore they desire you not to expect his sudden repair to you, nor to appoint colonel Ewer, or any other, to take charge of the island, until the pleasure of both houses shall be further signified unto you. And so we remain

Your lordship's affectionate friend.

Nov. 27, 1648.

MR. SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER.

Sir,—With my humble duty, this is to give you the account of my journey you were pleased to enjoin me. I came safe to Bury, by four of the clock; and going to Mr. North with my letter, found there some forty strangers in a room, listening to good voices, well managed, and a lute well strung. I took my share in the sweets; and when all was done, delivered

my message, but could not be licenced till supper was past.

Here, too, I found an acquaintance that meant Cambridge next day; so we two made a match, and got hither by Friday at five. Where I found all well, only that Mr. Tuckney was vice-chancellor, as I divined, which will necessitate him this year to be my continuing inconvenience.

Yet how candid and ingenuous I am like to find him, besides his former carriage, which you have heard, you may read in part in this inclosed from the noble doctor.[c] I was yesterday to have preached the afternoon lecture at the Protestant church, and had accordingly provided for it; and though I found not myself well the day before, hoped, with God's assistance, to have performed it: but just when the bell was ringing, and when I was now come to Mrs. Bainbrigg's house, just by the church door, I was there surprised (besides my former feverish distemper and a dizziness in my head) with such a fulness of stomach and vomiting, that I was forced to lay down all thoughts of preaching, it being now grown impossible; and my cousin Barker, upon notice, stepped up at that short warning, and supplied the vacuity.

I came home sick, but have vomited and sweat and fasted, yet know not how to pronounce of my condition till to-morrow be past. Though I would fain hope the best, yet am I not out of all appre-

[c] See before, p. 58.

hension of an ague: God's will be done. All this disturbance came from so small an occasion (if I guess aright) as the eating somewhat too freely, on Friday night, of the fat of a rabbit, which being a delicate kind of fat, is quickly corrupted in the stomach.

I have sent you here, sir, my lord primate's[d] Body of Divinity, and three new stitched books, well worth your perusal. Though you lend them, I desire you would not finally part with them, because I would gladly read them myself when I come into the country; till when I defer it. You shall also receive two Spanish-leather caps, and two rings for my sisters with you, inclosed in a letter to them.

The news from above is worse than ever: the resolutions of the army high, and their acting like to be accordingly. The king hath given his final answer to the commissioners,[e] that he cannot quit the government by bishops, which is, in his judgment, apostolical; nor alienate their lands, which he counts sacrilege; and therefore, if the parliament will not at all recede from the rigour and severity of their

[d] Archbishop Usher.

[e] The king's ultimate answer was, "that he cannot, with a good conscience, consent to the total abolition of the function and power of bishops, nor to the entire and absolute alienation of their lands, as is desired; because he is yet persuaded in his judgment, that the former is apostolical in the institution, and that to take away the latter is sacrilege." *Whitlocke, November* 23.

demands, he must trust God with his condition, for he can go no further.

And thus, sir, with my humble duty to my mother, and my love to all, craving your blessing and the prayers of my friends, I subscribe myself

Your obedient son,

W. S.

Nov. 27, 1648.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—Since my last to you, colonel Ewer is come into this island. At his coming, I demanded of him to know what instructions he had, and from whom; because, though I held myself obliged to obey the General's commands in going to him, yet I had a trust upon me from the parliament, no way, as I conceived, relating to the General or army, which I must be faithful unto, to the utmost of my power, and careful (as much as in me lay) that the parliament's and kingdom's services might not be prejudiced in my absence. Upon which, he produced a letter, signed John Rushworth, and in the name and behalf of the general council of the army, ordering him to come hither; and if in case I should, according to the commands of the General's letter, repair to the head quarters, then he to secure the person of the king in Carisbrooke castle, or

otherwise, as he should think fit; and in case I should refuse, then to do as God should direct him; giving him power to call over other forces: and if he should so secure him, then if he found any hazard in being here, to give them notice, and to bring the king over the water. This was the substance, to my best remembrance, of his said instructions. To which I gave him an answer to this effect: that I knew none who even had authority over me as a soldier but the General, (except the parliament,) neither did I hold myself obliged, or would I give obedience, to any other authority or person whatever; but that to the matter of his directions, as I conceived, I ought not to give obedience to any save to the parliament alone, who had entrusted me, and only had power so to do: but further plainly told him, that if he, or any other, should so proceed to violate my instructions from the parliament, whilst I continued so in trust, I held myself bound, in conscience, honour, and duty, to oppose them to my utmost: and accordingly, God assisting me, I resolved to do. This was the substance of my answer; upon which he is resolved forthwith to go along with me to the head quarters.

This I hold my duty to acquaint you with, and also what order I have taken in my absence for the preventing such practices, as you will perceive by the inclosed directions and instructions, (which I as- you is the all in my power to do,) that, upon the eration of it, you may take such further order,

in an affair of so high concernment, as to your wisdom shall seem best.[f]

Whatever the event be, I can say, with the testimony of a good conscience, that in this whole weighty business, which hath now more than twelve months been upon me, I have, as in the presence of God, faithfully and honestly discharged my trust to the best advantages of your services, and not more in any thing than in this; and if for a reward of it, and all other hazard, labour, and blood I have undergone and spent in your services, I may now receive a discharge from you of this burden, so much too heavy for me, I shall rest fully satisfied, bless my God, and thank you; and be further obliged to be, what I must be ever,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

RO. HAMMOND.

Carisbrooke Castle,
Nov. 28, 1648.

P. S. Since the writing hereof, I received the originals of these two copies inclosed.

[f] "The house ordered a letter to the General, to acquaint him, that the orders and instructions from him to colonel Ewer, for securing his majesty's person in the Isle of Wight, were contrary to their resolutions and instructions given to colonel Hammond; and that it was the pleasure of the house, that his excellency recall the said orders, and that colonel Hammond be set at liberty to attend his charge in the Isle of Wight." "The town was full of fears of the army." *Whitlocke, Nov.* 29.

COLONEL HAMMOND TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Being at Farnham, on my journey to the head quarters, in obedience to the General's commands, I there met with yours, brought to me by major Cromwell, enjoining me to reside in the Isle of Wight; to which I shall yield immediate obedience by making my present return thither, though, I must needs say, with great sadness of heart: because I had hoped and expected that, according to my most earnest desires, you would have been pleased to have freed me of my grievous burden I have so long been pressed under; my unfitness for which is such, for many reasons, that I yet hope, upon your further consideration of me, you will please to set me at liberty, it being so much for the advantage of your affairs.

This, therefore, I must still leave with you, as the most hearty desire of,

Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

RO. HAMMOND.

Farnham,
Nov. 28, 1648.

P.S. Sir, This, being written before my restraint, should the last night have gone forwards to you; but those under whose custody I now am did not (it seems) think it fit to let it go until now. I have

given you an account of my imprisonment in a letter by another hand, which, I hope, is before this come to you.

Bagshot,
November 29, 1648.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—It is not unknown to you, how and how long we have waited for some things from you, respecting our Remonstrance,[s] and the present condition of the kingdom: but receiving nothing in answer to the one, nor remedy to the other, we do hereby again let you know, that we are so apprehensive of the present juncture of affairs, that, through fault of such helps as we might have had from you, we are attending and improving the providence of God, for the gaining of such ends as we have proposed in our aforesaid Remonstrance.

We desire you to judge of us as men acted in this by extremity, in which we would yet hope for the

[s] "The question, whether the Remonstrance of the army should be taken into speedy consideration, was, by ninety voices, resolved in the negative." *Whitloche, Nov.* 30. By the Remonstrance, the army demanded, among other things, that the king be brought to justice; that a period be set to the parliament, and provision made for a new one; and that no king be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and in trust for the people. *Ibid. Nov.* 20.

conjunction of such helps, as any among your friends to the public interest can conscientiously afford us. I remain

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Windsor,
November 29, 1648,

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COUNCIL OF LONDON.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—Being upon an immediate advance with the army towards London, we thought good hereby to give you notice thereof. For the ground and necessity leading us thereunto, we refer you to our late Remonstrance, and to our late declaration[h] concerning the same. We have only this further to add, that as we are far from the least thought of plunder, or other wrong to your city, or

[h] The army, displeased at the rejection of their Remonstrance by the parliament, on the same day issued a declaration, repeating their complaints; and, as the present parliament had been, by an act of the legislature, rendered perpetual, they determined on its dissolution, and an appeal "unto the extraordinary judgment of God and good people." "For these ends," the declaration concluded, "we are now drawing up with the army to London, there to follow Providence, as God shall clear our way." See *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 1341; and *Whitlocke, Nov.* 30.

any the places adjoining, (which we hope your former experience of us will give you cause enough to credit us in,) so, for the better prevention of any disorder in the soldiery, or of any abuse or inconvenience to the inhabitants in the quartering of the soldiery at private houses, we earnestly desire that you would take a present course for the supply of money to pay those forces, while we shall be necessitated to stay there; upon which, we assure you, we shall so dispose of them into great and void houses about the city, as much as may be possible, as that few or none of the inhabitants shall be troubled with quartering of any soldiers at all. And for this purpose, we desire that £40,000[1] may be forthwith provided, upon the security of your arrears, to be paid out to the forces tomorrow night, if possible. And we shall be ready to receive from you any intimations for the further prevention of hurt or inconvenience to the city in this business. I remain

Your lordship's most assured friend and servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Windsor,
Nov. 30, 1648.

[1] After a long debate, till eight o'clock at night, the house voted that the city do forthwith provide £40,000 for the arrears of the army. *Whitlocke, Dec.* 1.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—When I received your letter of Friday last, concerning the not advancing of the army nearer to London, (which came not to my hands till Saturday morning,) orders had overnight been given out for the rendezvous of the army in Hyde park, so early as they could not be recalled time enough to prevent the same: thereupon I sent sir Hardresse Waller from the rendezvous, to let you know so much, and that the approach of the army hither was in necessary pursuance of what the house had resolved, concerning the drawing the army into garrisons, towns, and cities; there being no other such places whereunto the army could well be drawn by the time limited, of like conveniency for the disposing of it, (without quartering upon private men's houses,) as this place did afford; nor any places where there was so great arrears due, or so much of the assessments like to come in, in time for the supply of the soldiers with money, to put them into a present condition of maintaining themselves without free quarter.

And for further satisfaction concerning the desire of myself and the council of war, in the advancing hither, he was directed to refer you to a late Remonstrance and declaration: but the house being then intent upon other matters, (as I understand,) he found not the opportunity or admittance to deliver the message to the house. Wherefore I thought

good hereby to give you the same account: and further, in the behalf of myself and the officers, to desire that you would believe, that we do not insist upon the things we have declared or propounded, as for our own wills or judgments, but for the reason and righteousness that is in them; and as they are for the public interest, a sound peace, and the safety of the nation. I remain

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Westminster,
December 3, 1648.

SIR THOMAS DACRES AND MR. DODDRIDGE TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—When we were this morning coming to give our attendance to the house, we were both turned back upon the stairs; and the serjeant's man stood by, and informed an officer, that our names were both in a list,[k] which he held in his hand; and he had order from the General not to suffer us to enter into the house to do our duties there, till the Remonstrance have received the sense of the house. We still

[k] The approaches to the house were occupied by military. Colonel Pride was stationed at the door, with a list of the persons to be arrested, and secured them as they came up. See *Whitlocke, Dec.* 6; *Godwin*, b. ii. c. 24.

pressed to do our duties, but were kept back by force. This we thought good to certify you, desiring you to acquaint the house thereof; subscribing ourselves

Your humble servants,

THOMAS DACRES.[l]

JOHN DODDRIDGE.[m]

Thursday, Dec. 7, 1648;
half an hour past nine in the morning.

JEREMY TAYLOR TO DR. RICHARD BAYLY.

SIR,—I received yours, dated November 27th; and although I read it with much pleasure, as bearing all along so visible characters of your affections towards me, yet I also observed it with much caution and reverence, as carrying along the severities as well as the compliances of a just and religious kindness. What I delivered *in transitu*, when I had the happiness last to meet you, I knew I poured into a breast locked up as religiously as the priests of Cybele; and, but that I was certain you permit all your friends and servants to speak to you with a freedom great as that of the sun or the air, I should not have delivered to you so displeasing a truth, lest by an unnecessary discourse I should have discomposed the state of that friendship, from which I have received so many effluxes and profitable emanations.

[l] Member of parliament for Hertfordshire.
[m] Member of parliament for Barnstaple.

However, sir, I shall most religiously observe your caution, (and had done so by my own proper purposes,) not to dispute *in triviis* that point which is of so great consideration, and is too apt to be mistaken or misconstrued by avaricious and prejudicate spirits. I know it is easy to encourage a crime by a neighbouring truth, but nothing is sufficient to secure the church's just interests, if any colour may be pretended for an injury.

But now, sir, to the particulars of your letter. I have something else to say; and then some other things to the question in its own precise consideration.

I. Concerning the person of a king, to be preserved by all reasonable and just means, you accord, but add this consideration; that it is to be pondered, what it is which makes for the bodily, and what for the ghostly preservation of a king? and that this latter is not to be destroyed by the former: which, although it be very true, yet is not of any distinct consideration from the main question; for if I make it appear lawful that the king may consent to the alienation of bishops' lands, in the present conjunction of circumstances, then the same act that is instrumental to the bodily preservation, will not be an enemy, or impede the spiritual.

II. You are pleased to propound the question, and state it with prudent and wary circumstances: the sum of which is this. 1st, Church lands stand dedicated to God, by the free donation of princes and

princely-minded men. 2nd. They are by the donors for his use so separated for ever. 3rd. They are confirmed by the legislative power of the kingdom, and accepted for the same usage for many centuries of years. *Q.* Whether lands so given may, for an end formerly suggested or supposed, (meaning the king's present case,) be wholly alienated?

III. The first is the great article of offence and question, "The lands were dedicated to God." I suppose, first, that lands can no more be dedicated to God, or in no other sense, than some persons are, that is, to be employed in the offices of religion; which, for the present, we will suppose as immediately to be a service of God, as charity, but no more. Now it would be considered, whether a person designed to be a priest, may not, upon great reason, recede from the exercise of his holy orders for ever? Instance, in the cardinal of Portugal, when his brother the king died without issue, dispensed with all, and re-returned *ad sæculum*, and was supposed as capable of doing service to God in the capacity of a king as of a priest. And, (under favour,) I conceive, the distinction of things and persons will not alter the consideration. For we have an express place of the New Testament for the person, but nothing clear and dogmatical for the unalterable sanctification of things in specie. "He that puts his hand to the plough and looks back, is not worthy." And yet the wisdom of the most eminent persons, and most

zealous for the temporal rights of the church, did think that the particular case was not forbidden by the general rule.

The same also I say concerning time, separate for God's service, which in many cases may be employed otherwise than in the precise virtue of religion; even in a great act of charity or convenience. And I desire it may be considered, whether any thing (abating the discourses and considerations of interest) can be pretended, that may substantially distinguish the case, *persons* and *time*, for *goods* and *lands*, since by all of them God is served, and without the two former he cannot be served, without the last he may; and it is notorious, that the most solemn separations for the service of God were made of *persons* and *time*, these by God's command; that of *lands* never, excepting only cities and suburbs for the Levites.

IV. But when it is said, lands are given to God; since it cannot be true in a natural and proper sense, for we cannot give what is his already, nor that which he needs not and uses not, to any purposes but our own; it can signify nothing really, but that they are separated for the use of religious persons, and they to be maintained by them, that, without care and diversions, they may attend the offices of religion and public advocation, (for that is

Magnæ mentis opus, nec de lodice paranda
Attonitæ,)

and so, for their relation sake, are entitled to God; just as those lands which were given for the maintenance of certain knights and military orders against the Saracens, were esteemed holy in order to the use to which they were designed, which was esteemed holy by the age.

But I consider, that since God is not a person capable of any new, proper, acquisite, and inherent right, it is in church lands, as in lands given to a body politic or corporation. It is impossible lands should be given, and the right passed really from the former owner, unless there be some person, real or imaginary, who is, or who is made capable of being the possessor. Now the communities of clergy, and lay bodies politic, are not a person; for in these there is a succession, but no inheritance: and it is the whole succession which is intended to be maintained by the donative, who cannot be a person in estimation of law, nor in natural consideration. And it is also intended that the present persons should only be usufructuaries; that is, the rights of dominion are not permitted to them, that the possession may be indeterminable; and that it is necessary there be a person substituted by fiction of law, who is supposed the lord. In corporations, not the mayor and aldermen, but the corporation is the *persona ficta*. In church lands, God is the person named; because of the relation and employment of the persons to be maintained in his service. But then the donors are

said therefore to have given it to him, by permission, I mean, and declaration of law, that they might be legally enabled to pass the dominion from themselves, and yet invest no real person with a dominion, who might, according to the right of lord, pass it from his successor. But this fiction of law is but a solemnity and a circumstance, producing no other effect, or real mutation, but that the forms of law are kept in the transmission of the right to such purposes of religion; God being in no other manner capable of a transmitted right, but when, by his own express act, or by ours, he is so put in substitution.

V. To this I add, that the lands themselves so dedicated are not altered: there is no holiness passed upon them, so much as relative and imaginary, but during the use; and that holiness which is attributed to them is but *ens rationis*, which appears most unanswerably in this; that by the canon law, and the voice of all Christendom and common sense, church lands may be changed; and when the next field, which the donor gave not, but the bishop for conveniency of it obtained by contract, belongs to the use of the church, that becomes invested with all the holiness of the other, and yet the other loses nothing of what it had, (for no act passed upon it:) and when a change is made, and yet nothing is lost by this, then nothing is got by that; and then all that was, is like the right and left hand of a pillow, which you may alter by your own posture or discourse: which I

the rather note, that I might redargue the fondness of some persons, who fancy strange contingencies and accidents happening to men using in common employments the stones of a monastery, when the society hath been dissolved. I fear, in such cases, the piety of the man wants the ballast of a severe and prudent consideration.

VI. And yet I doubt not but these things shall relate to God; that is, as he accepts the piety of the donor, as he accepted the nard pistic of Mary Magdalen, and the charity of hospitable persons; so he will also, by his care and providence, and the patronage of judgments, secure the support of the defenceless clergy, as he does of all his poor, his widows, and orphans; that is, more especially than any other things and persons.

But I desire it may be considered, that, among the masters of spiritual life, there are some sins called "crying sins;" that is, such which God will more certainly and apparently revenge; and oppression of widows and orphans is one: but, as I remember, they account not sacrilege in this number: from whence I can collect nothing, but that God hath more apparently undertaken the protection of widows' dowries and orphans' portions, than of church lands. And then, if we will suppose these widows placed in an hospital to pray and spin, I would fain know what holiness of lands or dedication signifies, that is not more eminently in the lands given for an hospital for

widows, than to a college for priests? and yet, if an hospital be spoiled, or widows injured, we used to call it oppression, not sacrilege.

And, by the way, sir, be pleased to put the case as it was in some instances in the days of that cormorant of church lands, Henry the Eighth, and in Edward the Sixth, that lands given to the clergy should be converted to the maintenance of orphans and widows, or sick persons. I desire to be resolved, whether that be sacrilege? and if so, upon what grounds it is said to be so? If not, then, whether the lands be God's portion, any more if they maintain the clergy, than if they maintain the indigent and necessitous laity? and whether or no, if the condition of the king's restitution were to alien the lands of Bethlehem, or St. Thomas's hospital, the clergy of England would not affirm it lawful? and then, why not, if the condition were to alien one manor of the bishop of St. David's, or one close? If one, then more, and then all as well as any; for one is as much dedicated to God as all, and the alienation is as direct a sacrilege.

But this were a hard case, should it be denied to the king's necessities, and the clamorous importunities of the people, and necessities for peace. However, that which I intended by this consideration is this: that by this proportion and similitude of hospital and church land, we may possibly understand what dedicating lands to God shall signify in the na-

ture of the thing; even this only, (in the substance of affairs,) that excellent persons, charitable and religious, have set apart certain lands to be spent in religion and charity, for the glory of God, as all good actions are, and this among the chiefest; and God is pleased with such intentions of the donor, and employment of the donative.

VII. For to say, that in such donations God is the lord, and the bishops and priests but usufructuaries, is to speak, indeed, *secundum stylum curiæ*, according to forms of law; God being the person by fiction of law, invested with the possession: but what that does mean in the nature and event of things, that is, what real mutation is made, either towards God or to the lands, more than what I have now explicated, I shall much desire to understand from you upon sure foundation.

VIII. 2nd. But you add, these lands were intended to be separate for ever. True; and I would to God they might so abide. But whether that be indispensably and unalterably necessary, or whether that intention of the donor, or the nature of the thing required it, I shall further consider.

For since it appears, by the instance of permutation, that nothing passes upon the lands that makes a real, either natural or moral, change; that which you say, that the donors did intend they should be separate for ever, does well explicate this part of the question: for in the truth of the thing, not the lands,

but the persons are obliged for ever; the lands are alienable, but men's hands are tied, and they bound not to alien them; that is, they who gave them, and they who can be obliged by them, or by any authority that confirms them. And this is not a distinction to no purpose, or real use in this question. For, upon supposition of the tenth of its parts, it will follow, in order to practice, that when the lands are aliened by a competent authority, I mean the supreme, whether that did religiously or irreligiously; yet, if the thing be done *ad omnem effectum juris*, the lands may be possessed justly by them that acted not in the alienation. For certain persons only being obliged, the lands carry no curse along with them, but to those persons who, being obliged, prevaricated their personal obligation. Now no power but the greatest, and a disobliged power, can meddle with them. For these being *vota Deo*, according to the nature of vows, pass an obligation upon the votary directly; and all other persons (I speak of equals or subjects) are therefore obliged, because they have no right to them, nor power over them; and therefore, if they meddle with them, are robbers; and that, in *materia devota* or *religiosa*, is direct sacrilege.

IX. But then it is to be considered, that the donors gave them but with all that right and powers appendant which they had; no man can transfer more than himself hath: since therefore the donors of lands had them but *in basso dominio*, and they

were subject to forfeitures, to præmunires, to political burdens, and did owe allegiance to the public interest; I mean, they were to put off their propriety and serve the great ends of the commonwealth, as all particular natures do the unity of the world, and the continuity of its parts. And therefore, as the donor was invested with them, so is God, (for I choose to express myself in the word of art and law.) So that it is wholly a mistake to say, that in this case God is the supreme lord of the land, and the clergy his usufructuaries: for it was but a *bassum dominium* which the donor had, and therefore he could transfer no other. And if a private person makes the prince his heir, and gives him lands that hold of an inferior lord, so also must be the prince's tenure, and the donative must pass with all its burdens. Now in what cases the supreme power of a kingdom can use private lands, or moneys and personal goods, *invito domino*, in the same he may use the church lands, if he might have done so before their dedication; (for else, the private donor had given to God rights that himself had not.) I add also, if there be an equal or proportionable necessity, as the one is not against justice, so the other is not against religion; only it is to be supposed, that church lands are last to be used, because they are of greatest interest for the religion, which all wise and good states believe to be the defensative of the republic. And if the church land be liable to levies, then, when the necessity

increases, the levy shall be greater; for he that may take little upon a smaller reason, upon a greater may take more; and if you can suppose a reason strong enough, or a necessity big enough, he may take it all, for the nature of the thing hinders not: for if he may take any of the profit, it is certain the land is liable to a superior lord, who may, *pro rata*, divert it from the use of its first intention.

And I desire it may be considered, that if the revenue may be spent in alienated uses, (pardon the word,) the land without the revenue will signify nothing; and therefore, if it be lawful to take the revenue, it is lawful to take the land. For the land is so wholly for its fruits and emolument, that it is lawful to sell and change the land, so the church be not injured. And if it be objected, that as long as the land is not sold, it will return to its former use in time: to this I answer, that, *pro tempore*, all the real effects of alienation being produced, obligation for a time, with defalcation of the profits, is in that degree an alienation. (I speak of real events, not notions, or fantastic formalities.) For because the land is wholly for the profit, he that takes that, and in the same degree that he takes it, does contrary, or besides the intention of the donor; that is, he employs it to uses not proper, not ecclesiastical: and the taking the profit *pro tempore* and for ever, are but several degrees of the same action, and therefore make no specifical difference; but they are for the same

causes, in several proportions, alike lawful or unlawful.

X. 3rd. But how if the prince gives lands, or, which is as much at least, he, by his legislative power, confirms the donation? then, since all the right of man is given up, God shall have the *altum* and the *bassum dominium* too; for he hath the direct right of the donor, and the collateral circumstant and accidental right of the legislative. To this I answer, that when the legislative confirms the donation of a subject, it is only supposed he confirms what the other bestowed, and made it valid in form of law, and therefore his confirmation alters not the manner of the tenure; but if it were so before, it is still in subordination and minority.

But if himself gives lands, and passes the donation into a law, it is true he cannot, without sacrilege, in any ordinary case, revoke his act, or alien the land. But then, whether the supreme power in another age cannot do it, is of another consideration. For no act of parliament can be made perpetual: and if an act be made that a parliament shall not abrogate such a law, it is ridiculous; for it is in the power of the succeeding to disannul that law, which pretended to disable its successor from disannulling it.

And it is certain, the supreme power hath a perpetual equal efflux of authority. And though so many single persons in whom the supreme power is inherent, may be obliged, viz. by their own act, yet

the power itself cannot; and when the first persons are extinct, and the power descend upon others, they therefore are not obliged, because they are the supreme, and can be obliged by none but themselves: but the act of the former princes or parliament is subjected to the power of the succeeding, the supreme power being in persons whom no act doth, nor any human power can oblige.

XI. Upon this ground, I consider, that since all distinction of dominion consists in the sentence and limits of the law, and it is theft to take pigeons, or deer, or fish, when the law hath housed pigeons, or emparked deer, and divided shores, and it is not theft to take these when the law hath not made them of private possession; and since sacrilege is a theft, the same power which determines what shall be theft, determines also what shall be sacrilege.

I give a more clear instance. By the law it is made sacrilege to steal *sacrum de non sacro*, as a chalice from the clerk's house. Another law makes it sacrilege to steal *non sacrum de sacro*. And so we find that children's portions were deposited in some of the Greek temples, the same law having obtained there also. But I conceive, that when two sins are the same in their matter and natural complexion, as theft and sacrilege are esteemed to be in law, and are certainly so in the nature of the thing, (sacrilege being defined by theft, as by its genus, and therefore, without all peradventure, forbidden di-

rectly in the prohibition of theft,) when the law distinguishes their formality, it means nothing, but that either they are to be punished distinctly, or the guilty persons to be proceeded against in their charges by distinct solemnities.

Now the law making any particular instance to be sacrilege, does apportion to it the punishment or (which is a part of the other) the reproach of sacrilege. I would therefore fain know, whether, by the laws of God, all the species enumerated by the canon doctors be sacrilege? Is it sacrilege to steal a sword or a horse out of St. Paul's church, (for I have lived to see that case possible; God, in his good time, will string his whip and scourge them thence;) but if yea, by what law of God? if no; then, since it is punished with the punishment and infamy of sacrilege by human constitution, in what does it differ from other instances which by the law of God we suppose declared to be so?

The result is this. That the laws of God forbid sacrilege, but in most instances the law of man declares what is sacrilege, and indeed makes it such; as in the foregoing instances. When therefore the supreme power shall dissolve the cancels of the dominion, and lay that in common which before was appropriated to a certain use; the dominion and propriety being taken away, there can be no theft, and, by consequence, no sacrilege. Just as it is no theft in me to put my sheep into a pasture which

by the law of the land is disparked, and made to be of common possession; and yet before such a law, or act of a competent power, it was.

Indeed, if the supreme power takes my goods and makes them common, or takes the forfeiture and gives them away without just reason, it is *injuste*, but it is *jure factum*. He that receives the goods after the prince's seizure is *bonæ fidei possessor*, but I am a person injured. So if the supreme power takes away church lands without evident necessity, or just reasons of religion, he is an irreligious person; but I say it is not sacrilege: because the thing ceases to be of appropriate dominion by the act of the legislator, since it is his only power that makes the distinction and propriety. And it is certain the same power that makes an act to be sacrilege which before was not so, may also make that to be no sacrilege, which, supposing the former constitution of laws, was sacrilege.

To steal what is sacred is sacrilege: but (by the way) *sacred* signifies nothing but what is separate by the cancels of laws, and declared honourable for a religious relation. So are the archives and records of courts, the seats of judicature, the presence chamber, the chair of state, the gates of the city among the Romans; so are temples and holy places: the law hath made all these sacred, and the same power can unhallow all its own consecrations. In all which, as religion is to be taken care of, and the public, to

which the several sacreds do relate; so if they be secured, and by other instruments be provided for, or if it be impossible they should, the crime lies not at his door where the impossibility dwells, or where religion is preserved in equivalent instances.

XII. And therefore the legislative power, although it can be irreligious, yet it cannot commit sacrilege: but the persons in whom such power is inherent, may, by accident; I mean, when they become persons directly or collaterally obliged. As the same king and the same persons of parliament cannot take away what they have given to holy uses, because they in their persons are obliged by their own act; but the supreme power, in its emanation and effluxes, being returned to an abstraction and precision from those persons, is totally disobliged, and therefore, in all senses, has power to alter the possession.

For to deny this, were to overthrow the very being and definition of legislative power, and to make private dominion superior to public interests, and the particular rights of persons more secure than the republic and communities of kingdoms. This is not to be done in common accidents, indeed; but when there is a sufficient cause, there is a sufficient power.

XIII. But besides these general grounds, which disclose the nature of the thing, if I shall descend to more minute considerations, I shall propound this: that if the church hath power to sell the lands and spend the money, it will be hard to say that such lands are unalienable. Now that the lands which

o·the·shelf·I·claim

were dedicated at first by the apostles' command or disposition, were sold, and the money spent, is evident in St. Luke's story. Now put case, that the commonwealth of Venice, at their apprehension of the Turks' invading Candy, should have permitted their clergy to have sold their lands, and given the money to the poor, and to their own necessities, lest it should fall into the hands of misbelievers, were this sacrilege? Put case, they should for as great a reason have given them away; Is it not as lawful to give them as to sell them? And if either, might not they with the money buy out the enemies of Christian religion? Might not they, or we, or any Christian society, have spent them in any holy use, any use that nobly secures a religious interest, or the glory of God? If it be said they may, then I doubt not but the clergy of England would be excused, if they consented that the lands that feed them were parted with, to restore peace, and the king; though in this, I say, as our blessed Saviour said concerning offences, although it be necessary (viz. in the event of things) that offences come, yet woe to them by whom the offence, or that necessity, does come.

But if it be said, they may not; I would know why we do use the lands to uses not designed or permitted by the donors? We know most of them were appointed to purposes which our practice to devotion owns not. If we say, that because they were given to the service of God, so the general end be preserved we are not tied to the particular instance;

then I desire it may be considered, whether this will bear us, even to a license of spending or using the lands to any use in which God's glory and the public interest may be concerned? To which, if we add this appendix, that God is then glorified when any great charity is done, or peace restored; if any company of evil persons, for bad ends, makes this peremptorily to be the condition of peace, we may not unseasonably believe God to be glorified: and therefore the lands not lost, if they buy a peace. Though concerning the special case I shall speak nothing dogmatical, but only of the general, and in a certain supposed instance.

XIV. But, sir, I pray consider, are not tithes dedicated to God, and are God's portion, as much as lands? If there be any degrees of devotion, it is on the behalf of tithes; and yet our colleges are maintained by impropriations for a great part of their provision. And if that alienation of tithes from church be unlawful, why do we live upon forbidden fruit? If lawful, let us suppose the king a person as capable of being relieved by God's portion as poor scholars are. To which I add this case. That since the canon law allows that patrons, falling to want, may live upon that which we call God's portion and the dowries of the churches, which themselves founded and endowed; since the kings of England are the greatest patrons of the church, and this king is the church's martyr, it will be hard to say, his or their

greatest necessities respectively may not be served by the issues of their own charity and religion.

XV. And hither will certainly refer the case of Acacius, bishop of Amida, who, for redemption and feeding seven thousand Persian prisoners, sold the vessels of the church, adding this discourse in verification of his charity; that God needed not vessels of gold or silver for his service in religion, but rather in charity: for it was indecent that dead temples should be rich and pompous in less necessary appendage, and God's living temples starve in the destitution of necessaries. He did accordingly; and his charity and religion too were approved and admired by all Christendom.

Now in the degrees of relative holiness, the canon law is express, that the utensils of the altar are more sacred and separate than lands; and it is certain, because vessels cannot be aliened without alteration of the property: when they are changed, they must be melted; and things not permutable are to be burnt; but land may pass in kind, and others accepted in their rooms, so the church lose nothing by it. Which though it be well and fitting that the case of the church, in permutations, shall be provided for and secured in her interest, just as all minors are by the care of law and princes; yet it shews, that if there were not more interest in it than real change, the land might pass, like water at the sluice, without observation and complaint.

For concerning the difference in the case, as you state it, that God may be served without rich vessels, and others in their room were easily passable, but lands once lost cannot: I consider that God is not always best served by the richest clergy; that our blessed Lord commends poverty, and entailed it upon his church by his doctrine and example; that he speaks so harshly of riches, that himself was once put to it to expound the meaning of his words; and yet, after that, his apostles, when they received the Spirit of Christ, still prosecuted the words of Christ against riches. I add, that although lands are not easy to be had, yet the apostles parted with them, and put the sequel to God's providence; and after all, this consideration is wholly extrinsical to the question. For although, upon supposition of the truth of the discourse, it might be of great prudence and caution to keep the lands as long as we can; yet it concludes it not a sin, in all cases, to part with them, nor that they have so many degrees of sacredness, or separation, as vessels and utensils. For since all their sacredness depends upon the sanction of the law, and their relative use; for the first, vessels are with more solemnities dedicated; and for the second, they are more immediate in the offices of religion. So that the argument will be firm, that if the church approved the act of Acacius in alienating things more sacred for a less necessity; it will be too great an adhesion to a temporal interest, upon a pretence

of religion, to persuade the king to ruin himself, and his posterity, and the church and her lands too, by not suffering them to be aliened.

XVI. For in the present constitution of affairs, the church lands are like the fruits of our orchards, standing upon church ground *quæ servando servari non possunt;* if you keep them, you lose them: and the king, by holding the lands fast, will have his own arm pulled off, and the lands go along with his ruin. And (under favour) I suppose that consideration will serve to oppose against that other of yours; which, indeed, is matter of prudence, though not of consideration in the question of lawful or unlawful.

For whether the king be captive or no in the sense of the civil law, it matters not; I am sure he is so, to all real and natural effects. And whether the redemption will be real upon his consigning the bill, is to be provided for in his capitulation as well as it can. If it be lawful to consign the bill upon supposition he should really be delivered, it is as lawful to do it upon their undertaking, or his own belief. It may be a default in providence or wisdom, if he be not, but none in the matter of his own justice and religion. But the reason you add, "lest the king and his council should sin gratis," I suppose, with your favour, is *extra oleas*. For if it be a sin when done *gratis*, it is also a sin when done *pretio*: and if it be a sin, it is not to be done, though all the kingdoms and lives of the world were the purchase. But

whether it were a sin or no, was the question, and is not to be presupposed or granted.

XVII. I have now considered the proper grounds of the question, and all that you were pleased to propose to me as considerable, excepting your second and fourth considerations; but they, being the same inquiry concerning the punishment and sad consequents of sacrilege, are already answered, if the former grounds be reasonable, and that all alienation of sacred things be not sacrilege. For certainly the evil accidents and cursed appendices of this great sin will concern them, who, because they have not the supreme power to act it, nor just reason to desire it, are highly guilty of sacrilege in destitution of the first, of irreligion in destitution of the latter. But to say that this shall concern the king, who hath power of translating dominions in some cases, and great necessity of doing it in this, is a zealous detention of our interest, and a neglecting the king's.

The clergy are bound to pay for the king their lives, when his just needs shall require: and yet our lives are as much given to God, and for his service, as immediately as lands; our persons are as sacred as our fields; and possibly it were no sacrilege to give our lands to redeem the clergy from the sword; and therefore they are not to be denied to those needs which may call for our lives, for which we would willingly give our lands in redemption.

XVIII. But who knows but that this alienation

of church lands may be a great security of the interest? and that the king might say of the lands, as St. Paul of himself, "therefore I departed for a time that I might abide with you for ever?" But that is a reserve in the counsel of God's predestination. However, unless king Richard I. were sacrilegious in being redeemed with the moveables of God's house, or Edward III. in taking great revenues of the church for support of his armies in France, or archbishop Chichele in giving vast sums of money to maintain the French wars, all which was God's portion as much as lands, (with your pardon,) I suppose it is a safe case, that the best prince, incomparably the best in Christendom, be very much valued more than our lands. For that this is the present case is therefore evident to me, because, although God can preserve the king in his denial, so also he can the lands, when they are consigned to others. But as in such consignation the lands are visibly lost, so also is the king in his denial. It may be otherwise in either, but the case is alike in both.

Sir, I know not whether my long letter may be presumed an amends for my delay of some few days in returning you an answer, or shall be interpreted a new offence. However, you may by it see my confidence of your goodness, that with such openness I discourse this point of danger.

Sir, I expect to be fairly chid for what you shall perceive amiss: but I am the less apprehensive of it,

because I know your wisdom will master the prejudice of a long persuasion to the contradictory of this discourse. But whether so or no, I may, by your animadversions, gain a truth, and not lose a friend; whom I desire to preserve with all the services and fairest correspondencies of my life, that I may any way express how great obligations you have passed,

Dear Sir,

Upon your very affectionate friend and servant,

J. TAYLOR.

The Vigils of Christmas,
1648.

P.S. "Ad. numb. 10 et 12. The supreme power cannot be obliged; but the person in whom the supreme power is inherent, by accident may be obliged," viz. by his own act. Query: Whether the king's coronation oath have not personally obliged him, so that without sacrilege he cannot alien them? I answer, that the king's oath binds him to maintain the rights of the church, as it ties him to defend the laws; which he is to defend so long as they are in being, but not bound against all changes, popular petitions, necessities, and emergencies, to preserve their being. So that, as he may consent to the annulling of a law, so also to the alienation of a present right, unless the nature of the thing hinders. But that church lands are in their nature and condition alienable, upon great and notorious necessities, was

intended to be proved by this discourse. So that the king not being personally obliged, and the supreme power of itself not obligable, the former considerations may be effectual.

R. WELLER [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

Sir,—I perceive Mr. Barker's absence, and my inability, have compelled you to a double performance. I repent not for the congregation's sake, but for mine own, whose unhappiness it is to trouble my friends, without partaking of the benefit of their labours. To this extraordinary task (which you have undergone) nothing could persuade you but charity: and now that you have performed, nothing can reward you but the same, with *benefactorum conscientia.* And, for me, I must be so impudent and ungrateful as to confess, that I am in no capacity to discharge so great a debt: thus much you will hear from all men who know me; and your own experience must inform you of his unworthiness, *epulis accumbere divum*, who hath for some years together conversed with Mr. Harrison, &c.

I have searched every shop in London almost for Cassander: *non est inventus;* the like return is made for Amirald. I shall direct Mr. Bec where to find Calvin and Luther. Your cousin (I hope) is safely

with you before this time. He grew at length very weary of London: much pains he took to find out Paul's, but could not. His story (I know) and wonders will entertain you till I come to relieve him, which I purpose on Saturday next. Meanwhile, I heartily tender my due respects to yourself, the traveller, Mr. Wickham, &c.; resting

Yours ever,

R. W.

London,
Jan. 3, 1648 [9.]

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA[a] TO THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED,— We greet you well. After having attended, with much impatiency, the issue of several negociations for the composure of the unhappy troubles of the kingdom of England, without the contentment at last of the fruits we had cause to hope, we can be no longer satisfied, (as we were whilst those reasons of our expectation of returning as became us were in being,) if we should not do all that remains in our

[a] There is an indorsement on this and the next letter, as follows: "This letter was never opened, but found sealed among the waste papers in the desk of the parliament's office, till it was opened by William Goldsborough, esq., clerk of the parliament, March 20, $168\frac{2}{3}$."

power to give unto ourself, and our dearest lord the king, the consolation of going to him.

For which end, we desire of you, as we have done of the two houses of parliament, your safe conduct: touching which, the ambassador of our dearest nephew, the most Christian king, will speak to you more particularly. Remitting you unto him, we bid you heartily farewell.

From the Louvre this sixth day of Jan. 1649.

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA TO THE SPEAKER.

TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,—We greet you well. Having this long time expected such an happy conclusion of peace, as might have given us means to return unto our dearest lord the king, as became us, and being at length disappointed of our hopes thereof, our affections and duty will not allow us to defer any farther that satisfaction of both, and the consolation he may receive by it. We do therefore entreat of you a safe conduct for that end: touching which, the ambassador of our dearest nephew, the most Christian king, will speak to you more particularly. We remit you to him, and bid you heartily farewell.

From the Louvre this sixth day of Jan. 1649.

MR. SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER.

Sir,—I wrote a word or two in haste on Monday, by Rogers, but must not let this occasion (of my countryman Godwin's coming towards you) pass without presenting my humble duty. He is an honest man, and my very good friend; and did I not know that you esteem him as such, I should make it my humble request, that you would bid him welcome, if he comes towards you.

Things grow worse and worse every day, and there is nothing left for the king and his party in this world, but the glory of suffering well, and in a good cause; which I hope nor devils nor men shall be able to deprive them of.

For my part, if once I see the fatal blow struck, I shall think of nothing but trussing up all, and packing away: and nothing but your command shall stay me long in a nation which, I am persuaded, will sink to the centre, if it suffers so horrid a wickedness without chastisement.

In the mean time, we must observe and adore the mysteries and wonders of Providence in all these traverses. You see the army could never ruin the king till they nulled the lords, and enslaved the commons, and so ruined the parliament, that lent the first hand to the setting of them up and pulling down the king.

And what shall we say, if Wm. Prynne, (utter

barrister of Lincoln's Inn,) who was the first incendiary, and sowed the first seeds of sedition, suffer at last in the king's quarrel? You will see, by the papers I send you, he is engaged: and you neither know him and his pertinacy, if you think he will retreat; nor his adversaries and their fury, if you think they will spare.

I have sent my sister Grenling's ring, which I forgot before: it is of the price she desired, and sixpence more, and so were each of the other. My humble duty to yourself and my mother, my hearty love to all. I am,

Sir,

Your obedient son,

W. SANCROFT.

Jan. 11, 1648 [9.]

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—A sudden resolution was taken on Saturday last by the States General, to send ambassadors into England, to mediate with the parliament about their proceedings with the king; and because it may be the house will not be unwilling to have an account of the carriage of it, I shall make a short relation of it.

The prince of Wales demanded audience of the States General, who, in a few words in English, intimated to the States the danger the king was in,

how much it concerned all states to be sensible of it; but said, in respect he spoke nothing but English, he left it to sir Wm. Boswell to relate these things more at large.

Sir William inveighed very much against the late proceedings of the house of commons, calling them a few members carrying on businesses against the rest and against the house of peers, so as now it was no parliament, and much more to that purpose, ended with a desire the States would send their ambassadors to intercede. This was assented to by the States of Holland, so as the ambassadors used only persuasions, not threats, and so to carry themselves as to observe the neutrality.

The ambassadors should have begun their journey on Tuesday last, being the 16th, but after desired to see this week's letters, so go not till to-morrow. I writ a despatch of this to Derby house, on Tuesday, by sea; but I hear the wind was contrary, and so the ship cannot get out.

Sir, If you please to take notice that the States have neither directly nor indirectly given me the least notice of their resolution to send ambassadors,* though it be something strange a member of parliament, being employed by the parliament to negotiate with them the affairs of parliament, that they should send ambassadors to them from whom he is sent,

* The Dutch had an audience in the house, Jan. 29. See *Journals*. No other country interceded for the king.

without communicating any thing of it to him. I offer not this in any private respect of my own, but rather that the house may consider how far it concerns themselves to have such a thing wholly transacted by the prince's party, without any overture made to me by the States, who profess neutrality; and it is the ordinary method, when they transact any thing with any who have one authorized by the other they treat with, to consult with him about it; but the businesses of the prince, followed by sir William Boswell, will not vouchsafe me the notice: for which I am no way sorry; for I have no way to be more acceptable to them, but to be less honest and faithful to the parliament.

The lord Jochimy you know: he is the ordinary ambassador, the other is called my lord Hempstead, alias Paw; he was once ambassador in England, and also in France, and was now one of the plenipotentiaries at Munster, and is one of as much credit and power in Holland, as any one I know; and therefore I humbly conceive it for the service of the house, as things now stand, to give him all personal respects, (for as for his embassage I have nothing to say to it,) that he may, if it be possible, return well satisfied as to himself; for he may do you much good, if he will; and the contrary, if he be so minded: for he is an able, wise man, and much esteemed here. I wish some less considerable had come at this time.

Sir, I am sorry to tell you what I must, that the

revolted ships come in daily with great prizes. A Hamburgh merchant sending a ship to London, some say worth forty thousand pounds, is taken: a Hull man or two, in one of which was fifteen hundred pounds: thus prince's men bring in our merchants like slaves and captives; a few ships staying here had in a little time undone them for ever. I know not what fate hath accompanied our resolutions at sea, but certainly the worst have ever been followed, or else a company of fellows, destitute of all things, could not have undone us, by wanting all things when we wanted nothing. I hope things will be better carried; and their consciences ought to check them, whose doing nothing hath brought so many to beggary. It is no great joy to me to see our merchants beggared; and Batten, that arch-traitor, in a way of reconciliation. He made a fleet revolt, and must be saved for a part of a ship. Truly, sir, we are too willing to save enemies and lose our friends: this I have observed, and shall not forget, but have the comfort to have no hand in it.

Sir, I hope you, and those who are true to the public, shall have the fruits of your fidelity, when those who are false shall have shame. I thank God I live, though every day threatens the contrary.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague,
Jan. $\frac{18}{28}$, 1649.

The prince of Orange was present in the council of the States when the prince of Wales had audience: some say he will send his secretary, sir Constantine Hagers, to intercede with the parliament for the king.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir,—This day, being the $\frac{31}{21}$ of January, the two ambassadors, my lord Hempstead and Jochimy, sent a gentleman to me, to know at what hour I would be at home, and they would come to see me: we agreed on five at clock. They came at the time appointed, and told me, they were appointed by the lords, the States General, to go into England, to endeavour to maintain a good correspondence and amity betwixt this country and England, and to do the best offices they could betwixt the king and parliament; and that the wind was fair, and they were to be gone in the morning. I told them, the parliament did much desire to keep a good correspondence with the States, and would be ready to embrace all occasions to express it. For the business of the king, the parliament was proceeded in it very far, that I hoped they would be satisfied with what the parliament could do, according to the state things were now in; and that since they went away so suddenly, it was impossible for me to serve them, which I might have done had I had time to write to the parliament to

know their mind: however, I was glad the States had made choice of two men so wise and well affected as their excellencies were.

Sir, If you please to allow me to desire the house to afford these two ambassadors all the honour they can in their reception and usage, for really they are of great esteem here. I will not meddle with the matter of their embassage, which I submit to the wisdom of the house, but rather to what concerns the value of their persons; and so remain,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague,
Jan. $\frac{31}{21}$, 1649.

MR. THO. SAUNDERS TO SIR H. WALLER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—I should not discharge my duty, and that trust which is imposed in me, if I should not acquaint you with what is here done, and what I hear. Yesterday, there was a proclamation [p] read in this city from the parliament, that no one, on pain of death, should proclaim any one king, without order of parliament, with some other particulars; and afterwards it was posted up at the Guildhall.

[p] "An act forbidding the proclaiming of any king, was ordered to be sent down to all the sheriffs, to be proclaimed in all counties." *Whitlocke, Jan.* 30.

This, as I hear, was done by orders of Mr. Mayor. But within two or three hours after, it was taken down, but by whom I cannot as yet learn. This night, this inclosed paper[q] was put up at the same place where the other was taken down, but by whom I cannot learn; but I shall inquire diligently after it, and if I can learn, then shall secure him.

People's hearts are very sad (I mean malignants) for the loss of their king. I am informed (by honest men) that divers malignants have many arms in their custody, both of this city and the county, which makes the honest party fear that they have some design in hand, for they begin already to speak great words. It is by the honest party desired, that some speedy course may be taken for the seizing on and securing of all arms and ammunition that shall be found out of the public stores, that so, if occasion serve, they may be in a readiness.

Some justices of the peace (as I hear) do now refuse to execute their place; pretending that now they have no power. I shall not enlarge, knowing

[q] "Lett all truly loyall Englishmen know, that on Tuesday, the 30th of January last past, Charles, our late most gracious kinge, was most trayterously and unjustly murthered, by the command of this present bloodye parliment. And lett them only acknowledge that Charles his sonne is the true, right, and undoubted heire unto the crowne of England, and ought by law and descent to enjoy the same.

"God save kinge Charles the Second; convert or confound his enemyes. Lett all true loyall hearts say Amen."

that your great affairs will not permit you to spend much time, but in those things that are of greatest concernment: so, desiring the Lord to guard and direct you in those great affairs, and carry you on in such a way as may be most for his glory, and then it shall be for our good; and this shall be the prayer of

Your honour's most faithful servant,

THO. SAUNDERS.

Eton Castle,
February 3, 1649.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Since the order of the house, of the 24th of October last, for the disbanding of all the horse and foot in Kent, except four companies, two whereof to lie in Sandwich, one at Dover, and one at Rochester, upon some suggestions of danger to those eastern parts of Kent, I signified my desire to the committee of this county, and in particular to sir Miles Livesey, to respite the disbanding any; whereupon, the committee of that county certifying they were concluded by the aforesaid order, sir Miles Livesey, according to my advice, kept them up; which I doubt not but will be approved of as a good and seasonable service, as the affairs of the kingdom then stood.

And whereas during that time he was necessitated

to raise money by tax upon that eastern part of the county to avoid free quarter; I offer it to you, that the committee may be ordered to repay the same unto the county by a general levy upon the whole; he first giving account what moneys he levied, and how disbursed to the forces, that so neither he nor the country may suffer damage.

Since that time, I referred it to the gentlemen of that county to disband all but six companies, two whereof to lie at Sandwich, two in Dover castle, and one in the three castles in the Downs, and the other in Rochester and Leeds castle; upon which reference, the committee found those moneys allotted for those forces almost exhausted, as also not empowered to disburse any more to them since your order for their disbanding.

I thought it therefore fit to recommend it to your consideration, to allot them the old as well as new sequestrations; or if that be not sufficient, then to raise money, either by levy or otherwise, for the paying what is in arrear to those forces, (free quarter, and what moneys they have received of the county by sir Miles Livesey, or otherwise, being deducted;) it being my desire, that since those forces have laid upon them so long, they may now be disburdened of them, and discharged of their pay, (that company which lies in the three castles being excepted;) which, because settled in subordination to the three respective governors of those castles, I desire may be

as yet paid by them, until it can be received into the general establishment.

The county at present lying under the extreme pressure of those forces undisbanded, I hope will be a sufficient argument to lead you to resolution in this business. I remain

Your humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Queen-street,
February 3, 1649.

MR. H. HENLEY[r] TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Yours, dated the 30th January, with the inclosed, I have this morning received: and having before had notice of the king's death, do, under favour, conceive that I being made sheriff under the king's writ, upon the death of him my office of being sheriff expireth,[s] and I do therefore forbear acting any thing as sheriff until further orders of the house of commons in parliament assembled enabling me thereunto; there being none in these parts, for the present, making any stir or motion to declare

[r] Sheriff of Dorsetshire; after the Restoration, member of parliament for the same county.

[s] "Divers sheriffs made scruple of acting in their office, because of the death of the king: order for instructions to be drawn up therein." *Whitlocke, Feb.* 6, 1648.

any thing against the intent of the commons in parliament. If hereafter there shall be any, it shall be my endeavour to give timely notice thereof.

Thus, with my prayers to God to direct you in the best way for his glory and the common good, do humbly submit yours,

Sir,

To serve you,

H. HENLEY.

Coleway,
Feb. 3, 1648 [9.]

FRANCIS TYLNEY, SHERIFF OF HAMPSHIRE, TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURED SIR,—These are to certify you that I received from you, the last of January past, in the evening, a letter, with two acts inclosed, for the prohibiting the proclaiming any person king. In order and obedience to your commands, I did forthwith send one of them to Winton, and from thence directed to Portsmouth, Southampton, and other towns, to be proclaimed, according unto the directions of your said letter. But in regard my under-sheriff, as well as myself, were obliged, under a penalty, to make a personal appearance in the exchequer, I have not as yet had any other account of that service, than by an inhabitant, that said he heard it proclaimed in Southampton; so that I doubt not, sir, but it hath

been pursued according unto the instructions. The other act I sent by a servant of mine own; who had the same, the next day after the receipt thereof, proclaimed in these ensuing towns, viz. Basingstoke, Odiham, and Alton, it being market day in two of the towns. The copies being so few, and your commands for a speedy account of the service, it was not, sir, possible that they could be proclaimed within all towns of my county; in which respect I gave especial order for Winton and the port towns.

Sir, I have always been very faithful to observe all your commands; and now hope, that as your house hath of late been pleased to appoint John Hooke, esq. to be sheriff for this ensuing year, that you would be pleased to enjoin him to undertake the same office: I having of late been at the cost to take out the order of the house, and send it to him to his house, being near forty miles from this city, he refused to be seen; but his wife was acquainted therewith, and yet would not receive the said order.

My humble desire is, sir, that I may now be discharged, there being, I think, scarce any county besides wherein the sheriff for the year past is continued in.

Sir, Your favour herein shall ever oblige me to subscribe myself

Your obliged humble servant,

FRA. TYLNEY.

Feb. 6, 1648 [9.]

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—I received a letter from major-general Lambert, wherein he gives me a very good account of the disbanding of those forces in the north, viz. three regiments of horse, consisting of twenty-two troops; whereof he hath reserved, by directions from hence, one troop for Scarborough, and a regiment of horse for other service in the north. In the performing of which, he hath raised in the county £1500 more than the £3500 the committee of the militia of that county had raised for that use before the expiration of their commission: which money he raised by proclamation, that all that would bring in fourteen days' pay for the horse and twenty-one days' pay for the foot, should be, within forty-eight hours, freed from quarter; which accordingly was performed on both parts, with much cheerfulness. And now he doth desire me to move this honourable house, that seeing he did it for their service, and the great advantage of that county, he may have the approbation of this house for it; and also that there may be some course taken for the stating of the accounts of the soldiers of those parts, who for so mean a consideration are willing to disband, having undergone such hard service this summer; and seeing this regiment of horse is a very good regiment, and you may want forces both for England and Ireland, that there might be present care taken, that provision

words yet in use can read, or thought conceive, without horror and amazement.

I send you no papers, nor can I delight to take in any, since I read the saddest that ever England saw: those, I mean, that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles, the pious and the glorious; with whom fell the church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all that the piety and honesty of the nation could hope for in this world.

And now, the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all. When we meet, it is but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly, where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience, or lay down a weary head with the least repose; for the church here will never rise again, though the kingdom should. The universities we give up for lost; and the story you have in the country, of Cromwell's coming amongst us, will not long be a fable. And now it is grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty) to pray for kings, and all that are in authority: the doors of that church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot (without danger of a pistol) do what is more necessary, pray according to their duty.

For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that

by the treaty of peace lately signed, and now upon the point to be ratified, is assigned to me; and which (as affairs now stand) I am necessitated to accept, how disadvantageous soever; expecting, with all submission, what God's providence may hereafter produce. Out of the respect I bear to this honourable house, I have thought fit to make you acquainted herewith, and to desire their pass,[1] and other fitting accommodation, for my safe transport, with my retinue, goods, and horses, (according to the note here annexed,) into Holland or Zealand.

And as I am bound most thankfully to acknowledge the favour and protection I have received of the parliament during my abode here, so I hope they will still be mindful, that the chief cause of my family's oppression hath been the standing for the public interest of liberty and religion; and, in regard thereof, as also of the uncertainty of the peace of Germany, (how probable soever,) and the present misery of my country in particular, that they will please to continue their former supplies of subsistence to me, till the settled estate of this kingdom enable them (according to their manifold professions) to take my cause into a more effectual and public consideration: which (together with my repeated ac-

[1] "The house ordered the arrears to be paid him, and the speaker to give him a pass for himself and his attendants, forty horse, but none other to go over with him." *Whitloche, Feb.* 19.

knowledgments of their former favours) shall be the constant wishes of,

Mr. Speaker,
Your most affectionate friend,
CHARLES LODOVIC.

Somerset House,
Feb. 14, 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

His highness the prince elector palatine desires a pass and convenient shipping, for the safe transport into Holland or Zealand, of himself, his retinue, (consisting of forty-two persons,) goods, and baggage; and thirty horses, geldings, or mares, custom free.

MR. SANCROFT TO MR. HOLDSWORTH.

DEAR MR. HOLDSWORTH,—What I feared is come to pass; it hath pleased God to take away from us my dear father, the sole prop of this now ruined family.

His tender sense and apprehension of the public calamities, together with the burden of sixty-eight years, and a violent fever with which it pleased God to visit him, have ended the life in which all ours were bound up. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, he went hence. Yesternight, at eight, I made hard shift to get hither, where I found a sad family, and mingled my tears with theirs.

Good friend, let me have thy prayers, to assist me in this saddest loss that ever I sustained for this world. When I see thee, I shall give thee the particular aggravations of my sorrow. I shall haste out of this sad place as soon as the duty I owe to the comfort of the widow and orphans, and some care I must share in for gathering up the broken pieces of this shattered family, shall be over: happily, both may yet exact a fortnight.

In the mean time, I pray thee, dear Tom, redouble thy care for my pupils, especially for the sick; and let me, if the carrier comes in the interim, hear how my cousin doth. I pray excuse me to my friends of Christi C. and Caius; and present my love and service to them, and to all the fellows you shall have occasion to speak with. I pray be vigilant at Mr. Ireland's, to watch when the king's Devotions come down: he hath promised me six. I pray pay for them, and preserve them for me, together with that loving affection of thine, which is very dear and precious to thy most affectionate friend,

W. S.

Feb. 20, 1648 [9.]

SIR PETER WENTWORTH TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—I must make my excuse to my master when I have played the truant: truly,

sir, provision for my health was the occasion of my retiring into the country, I not being able to endure a whole winter siege in London, without a retreat to prevent many distempers which grow upon me for want of air and exercise: yet I intended but a short abode here, from whence I have not stirred at all; for it hath pleased God that sprains and bruises, by falls and other mischances, (one succeeding another,) have disabled me from pulling on a boot near these six weeks.

Sir, My humble request therefore to you is, (as to my very honourable friend,) that if Mr. George Warner's composition for delinquency be reported to the house in my absence, (part of whose land I bought of the parliament, and am now engaged in two suits at law about it,) you will be pleased (as you formerly promised) to acquaint the house with my humble desire to be heard in that which concerns their honour and justice before the composition pass. Sir, herein you will do me a great favour; and a greater, if it please you freely to command him who is, and who holds it his honour that he is,

Sir,

Your most humbly devoted servant,

PETER WENTWORTH.*

Lillingston Lovell,
[Feb. 24, 1649.]

* Member of parliament for Tamworth.

MR. SANCROFT TO MR. HOLDSWORTH.

Loving Sir,—I cannot willingly omit any opportunity of repeating my thanks to you. It was just now that I heard of my cousin Bradshawe's intention to send her man to Cambridge to-morrow, and I would not let him come empty towards you. Yet words are all he brings; and, as far as they can reach, I would thank you for your care and love to me and mine. I hope my cousin is recovered, and I shall, at the return of this bearer, read in your letter his *en-bon-point*. I wrote by the carrier to desire your importunity with Dick Ireland for six of the king's books for me; which request I again renew, and that you will call on him for Dr. Hammond's Plea against the Army, and reserve it for me.

If any of the king's books (*Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ* I mean) be to be procured, or already in your hands, send me one of them by this messenger, who I suppose returns suddenly. My heartiest love and respects to my honoured friends of Christ's college and Caius and the rest, and to all our fellows. Either with my journey hither, or with following my father's hearse and sitting long in the church, I have gotten such a cold and cough as is for the present very troublesome, and may, without God's mercy, prove dangerous. He fits us for all the events and issues of his providence.

A word or two of news, I pray, university or

other, to thy friend that sits here in the dark; and yet pleaseth himself with this, that, notwithstanding all distances, he may write himself

Thy most affectionate friend,

W. S.

Tuesday night, after supper,
Feb. 1648 [9.]

MR. THOMAS HOLDSWORTH TO W. SANCROFT.

DEAREST SIR,—I cannot look upon your sad letter without a deep resentment of your heavy loss. I could heartily write after your copy, and bewail it with you, did I not think it better to sympathize with you in prayers and tears than in gall. This would be an unpleasant addition to your wormwood: you have too many incentives of sorrow at home with you, I dare not add any further fuel to your affection. Let me rather entreat you to cheer up, and to comfort yourself and others. Cast out your distrustful apprehensions of a ruined family: God has but removed the chief prop of it, that he himself might succeed and bear it up.

Your pupils here are almost all well, your cousin finely recovered. Only Seaman, by venturing out too soon, hath catched a relapse, or rather another disease, a kind of an ague, but he hopes it is leaving of him.

The king's books are so excessive dear, that I believe you would not have so many of them at their prices. Mordon sells the worst impression for five shillings. Mr. Ireland had none come the last Saturday. I spoke to Mr. Widdrington to take one of those six which he has promised to your company for you. The last week, I received a letter from the good doctor, who desires to be certified of your health and return.

Immediately before I received your letter by your cousin's man, I was with Rich. Ireland, about the books: he has none, but betwixt this and Monday he looks for good store. If they be Royston's, they will be above six shillings; they are sold for six shillings and sixpence in London; the other sort are dully printed on dull paper. I shall get one of the best print for you, if there any come. I shall look after your second book you speak of.

Mr. Lynford remembers him kindly to you. I have no more, but that I am

Yours,

THO. HOLDSWORTH.

Feb. 27, 1648.

No news but that of visitors, who, as it was last week reported, would shortly be here. And the first college was to be Trinity, which they would meddle with.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT DERBY HOUSE.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have for some months past been put to maintain the duke of Glocester and his sister out of my own purse; and, for want of those allowances which I should have received by appointment of the parliament, have run myself so far out of money, that I am altogether destitute of means to provide longer for them, or indeed for my own poor family, unless I may have what is owing to me upon those assignments. My apprehension likewise of practices upon the duke of Glocester, (which probably may not be in my power to prevent,) makes me think it necessary for me to acquaint your lordships, that I cannot, upon any terms, undertake to be answerable for him. The maintaining and safe keeping of these children being matters of state, I knew not where so properly to apply myself for directions as unto this council; humbly desiring, that you would be pleased to consider how they may be otherwise disposed off;[x] and that my looking upon this as a business of public

[x] "Order for the duke of Glocester and the lady Elizabeth, the late king's children, to be under the tuition of the countess of Carlisle, and £3000 per annum allowed for their maintenance." *Whitlocke, May* 24, 1649.

concernment, may excuse the interruption that is here given to your great affairs, by

Your lordships' humble servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Sion,
April 6, 1649.

ADMIRALS DEANE AND BLAKE TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The ship Triumph, appointed for us to go to sea in, being almost ready, we intend to repair aboard her Monday or Tuesday next, endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to lose no time whereby your service may suffer. But we find one or two very great obstructions, wherein the mariners seem to be much unsatisfied.

This honourable house was pleased to pass an act for the better encouragement of mariners to the service; where, in one clause, it is expressed, that all ships that are going to the rebels in Ireland with corn, ammunition, or contraband goods, shall be taken and made prize; which seemeth to imply, that all ships that carry not corn, ammunition, or contraband goods, are free to trade with the rebels in Ireland. And yet in our instructions we are commanded not to suffer any to trade with them, but to take all vessels, either going thither or returning back. And there hath been some other acts or ordinances passed

to this purpose formerly. But by reason of this last act, and that there hath been no prohibition for trading into the province of Munster, since the lord Inchiquin's revolt, openly published, but that merchants and others have avowedly entered goods for those parts in the custom houses of Bristol and other places in the western parts of England; by all which means, the judges of the admiralty are not clear how to proceed in matter of judgment concerning such vessels, there being now, of foreigners and natives, twelve vessels under this capacity, which are not adjudged: many of the mariners, being now to go out with us, that have taken these vessels, are very much discontented; and tell us, that we promised them encouragement, and that without delays, but that they are afraid their delays will be worse than formerly, if there be not a sudden declaration how the judges may proceed, and what we may lawfully take.'

There is an act drawn up, and in sir Henry Vane's hands, we think, that was presented to the council of state yesterday, which we humbly desire may be taken into consideration; and what this honourable house shall think fit, may be speedily done therein.

There is another great obstruction in our way, arising from want of commissioners authorized for the sale of prize goods, reported by colonel Wanton,

' The difficulties here complained of were removed by an act passed April 17. See *Journals*.

which we earnestly desire may be passed; because that there are many perishable prize goods to be sold, which cannot be done for want of commissioners to sell them: the former commissioners neglecting wholly the business, and the collectors of prize goods telling us, that they cannot get so many of them together as to make any sale.

These two obstructions are a very great discouragement to the mariners, who daily complain to us about them: and, indeed, whereas there was a promise of encouragement in the last act, entitled "An Act for Encouragement of Seamen and Impressing of Mariners," if both these inconveniencies be not provided for, we fear their encouragement will be very small; and they, seeing such obstructions in the way before our going out, will hardly be persuaded hereafter that they shall have any such benefit by prizes as is pretended. All which we leave to your honour's consideration: being persuaded, that if the abovementioned inconveniencies be not remedied before our being on board, we shall hardly keep that good opinion among the mariners which we hope we have in some measure obtained; nor be so well abled to do you that service as we heartily desire. Thus, in hope of your honour's favour, and the speedy removal of these obstructions, we remain

Your honour's humble servants,

RI. DEANE.

Westminster,
April 14, 1649.

ROBT. BLAKE.

[illegible]

the people of the house being his old friends, and so trusty, as his own house could not be more secure, and would not believe me that the danger was so great.

On Monday night, a rogue came to him, pretending he was sent from me, that I must needs speak with him; but he discovered him, and did not come, for divers other rogues were ready to have killed him had he come out. I wished him to come to me, but he would not. Last night, I was with him till eight at clock at night; about nine or ten he was murdered. It is reported, they said they were sorry I was gone; for hearing I was there, they did hope to have us both together, but I must be next.

I was desirous the doctor would have delivered his credential letters, by which he had been declared a public minister: but he told me, an old lord, his friend, persuaded him to temporize two or three days, and before that was expired he was murdered.

His friends desire he may not be buried till his brother come, who is a minister at Enchuson. The court of Holland hath proclaimed a certain sum of money to any who can bring in the murderers, and have omitted nothing that is usual to shew their displeasure. Yet it is like the murderers are not far off. Some say they were Scots, who did it in revenge of Hamilton's death; but they were Scots and English both.[a]

[a] Clarendon says, the murderers were all Scottish men; vol. vi. p. 298. Whitlocke says, they were English cavaliers; May 9.

The States will write to the parliament by an express, and it may be I shall write likewise.

It is said, the Scots commissioners get no consent, nor will not. Prince Charles asks how he may be assured, if he grant these requests, they will ask no more; and what they will do for him towards conquering England? Most think he will stay here, or in France.

This day was a great funeral of one of the States General. I had several friends advertised me not to go out, for one party undertook to kill Dorislaus, another me: but, if it please the Lord, I will go out to-morrow, and by my next I shall give you a further account. The death of Dr. Dorislaus hath made me so melancholy, as this day I can do nothing, nor write but in this broken manner.

Right Honourable,

Your humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague,
May $\frac{13}{3}$, 1649.

LORD DIGBY [TO THE MARQUIS OF ORMOND.]

[WRITTEN IN CIPHER.]

MY LORD,—I have nothing to add to Slingsby's [b] despatch, although made divers weeks since, but the

[b] Captain Slingsby, as we learn from Clarendon, was a

confirmation of what I told you by him of the queen's thoroughness in employing all her power with the king, towards complying with your desires by my lord Byron, for his majesty's hastening into that kingdom, the reasons of which have been so thoroughly pressed from hence, that those about the king who are averse to the journey have not a word to reply; but omit not, notwithstanding, to put all the delays they can to his departure from Holland, upon pretence of want of moneys: for the removing of which difficulty, [the queen of England is engaging the last gem she hath to buy bread with, and] for the clearing of all other rubs, [is despatching lord Jermyn himself,] with all the concernments of reason, authority, or tenderness, that a mother can apply to a son, to bring his majesty presently into France, where she will meet him upon the way, where he is to embark for Ireland. And I am most confident, that her majesty's strongest passion to see him proceeds from a desire to fix him in the resolution of putting himself and his affairs entirely into your hands and conduct; and for that end, to place about him [in authority and trust, such only as may be of a piece with you;] having some reason to [suspect that some, far otherwise inclined, do set up their rest to

creature of lord Digby's, and one "who went heartily about his business, having a perfect detestation of the parliament, for having deprived him of his master, the earl of Strafford, whose secretary he was." *Clarendon*, vol. iii. append. c. p. 595.

gain the interest with his majesty] during his absence [from the queen, and are vain enough to believe that they are] far advanced in it. But I make no question, if any such thing be, that [the first hour's conference betwixt their majesties will rectify all.]

I must not omit to tell your excellency, that you have made [a great omission, and somewhat tenderly taken here, in that,] having made a despatch to [the king] by captain Urton, who arrived here yesterday from prince Rupert, [you did not so much as give her any] knowledge of what [you writ to the king, or of the state of affairs in the kingdom;] from whence we have heard nothing, till now by discourse with him, since my lord Byron's coming.

One thing the said captain Urton sayeth, which perplexes us much; which is, that O'Neile is fifteen thousand strong, and in all kinds infinitely considerable; but withal, that he will come in, upon the king's arrival there, resolving to submit, [but not to that authority that others have done.] What to make of this, I know not: but I know Ireland too well to believe it possible for O'Neile to be in any such condition; [and I am not clear myself of some jealousy that the relation of his being in a posture, which I imagine impossible, raises in me.]

But of this, and all other things that concerns either the public or your own interest, I shall freely discourse with my lady marquess before her setting to sea: I intending, for that purpose, to make a journey

to Caen, the next week, to wait upon her, and take my leave of her. I rest

Your excellency's most faithful humble servant,

111.

Paris,
May 5, 1649.

Having warning of this bearer's going only time enough to write this letter, I beseech your excellence to let my lady Taffe and Mr. O'Neile know, that there is no hopes of getting [any money from this state at present, for men so desperately indigent is their] condition, and not possible to [be mended before the general peace.]

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—I thought it my duty, having received another pledge and token of the mercy and goodness of God to this poor nation, to give you a speedy account thereof. When I came to Andover, after some tedious marches, ten troops of the mutineers[c]

[c] The mutineers here spoken of are better known by the name of Levellers: a faction in the army that was anxious to remodel the government, to suppress the council of state, call a new parliament, a committee of whom should govern the nation. Clarendon erroneously confounds them with the old agitators of the army, vol. vi. p. 432. See *Godwin*, b. iii. c. 4.

marched from Salisbury to Marlborough, from thence to Wantage; and to the end they might get a conjunction with colonel Harrison's regiment, they lay all this day between Abingdon and Oxford, at a place called Blagrave, expecting there to have the troops come; but there came only to them captain Parke's and captain Wintropp's.

I marched all the same day towards Abingdon, (some of my quarters being twenty two-miles from thence;) and when I came near Abingdon they were marched away, being in all twelve colours, towards Newbridge, where colonel Reynolds, major Shilburne, and others, kept the bridge, which they would have forced; but when they saw they could not do it, they marched up the river, and got over at a ford near a mile from the bridge towards Faringdon: and I, being come up to the bridge some three hours after they were gone, marched towards Bampton in the Bush, and from thence to Burford; where, and in the adjacent villages, we took, I think, almost the whole party.

Particulars I shall give you an account of, God willing, hereafter more exactly. Those troops at Salisbury, of colonel Scroope's regiment, did wholly reject their officers, except one lieutenant and two or three inferior ones.

Sir, I hope this is none of the least mercies; and I pray God, you and me may make a good use of it. It will be your glory and your honour to settle this

poor kingdom upon foundations of justice and righteousness. And I hope this mercy will the more encourage you to do so, that the poor people, (however deluded by some cunning and turbulent spirits,) yet they may see you will improve your power for their good, and then your enemies shall be found liars; which I am confident you will.

So I cease your further trouble, and remain

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Burford,
May 14, 1649; midnight.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR H. VANE.

SIR,—By certain orders lately made, I see the resolution of the house for removing from hence the duke of Glocester and the princess. I do very heartily wish they may be so disposed of, as the change may prove to their advantage.

Sir Edward Harrington (as I am informed) hath declined that service: and not hearing of any other yet named, I take the liberty to tell you what I found upon some discourse I had the other day with my sister of Leicester;[d] which was, that if the house should think fit to commit the care of these children unto her, she would not refuse to serve them in that

[d] See before, p. 127, note.

condition. You know her so well, that I am confident you believe she will as much intend the good education of the children, as any person that can be employed about them; and for her good affections to the parliament, I think none that know any thing of her will doubt of them.

The children's being in this uncertain condition, is neither handsome for them, or convenient for me; if, therefore, you can procure a resolution from the house, for me to deliver them into so good hands as I have here proposed unto you, it will be a happiness for the children, and a very great satisfaction to

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Sion,
May 21, 1649.

ADMIRALS BLAKE AND DEANE TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—The high value which the honourable house hath been pleased to put upon our honest endeavours, signified unto us by yours of the 5th instant,* we receive with all humble acknowledg-

* Prince Rupert had sailed, in December, 1648, with what remained of Charles's fleet, from the coast of Holland to Ireland, where he had caused great inconvenience to the international commerce. On the 5th of June, news had reached

ment; desiring from ourselves, that the fruit of all may be to render us more able and prosperous in their service, by making us more lowly in the sight of God. And as we have learned from our great Master, when we have done all we can to confess ourselves unprofitable servants unto God; so, for all the good he hath, or shall be pleased to do by us, his unworthiest instruments, it shall be sufficient unto us to be accounted but faithful servants of men for the Lord's sake. Of this honour we shall ever be ambitious; but shall desire, next unto God, to owe it rather unto the prayers than thanks of men; as having more need of one, than any right to the other. Being thus resolved, however it hath or shall please God to exercise us with varieties of providences, we shall not doubt, through his blessing, of good success, and a happy conclusion in the end.

We have now been thirteen days absent from Kinsale, from whence we were forced by extremity of weather and driven hither, where we now are with eight ships, viz. Triumph, Charles, Leopard, Lion, Garland, Hercules, John, and Elizabeth. We shall, God willing, with the first opportunity, endeavour to get Kinsale bay again, and pursue our former re-

the house, that the fleet under Blake and Deane had relieved Dublin, and blocked up Rupert's fleet in Kinsale. The house ordered thanks to be sent to them, and that these successes at sea should be remembered in the day of thanksgiving. *Whitlocke, June 5.*

solutions, if we shall find them there, or otherwise to follow them whithersoever they shall go.

In the mean time, we have despatched away directions to vice-admiral Moulton and others, advising them to put themselves into the strongest posture they may, to defend themselves and oppose the enemy, in case he should be gone out and recover the channel.

We shall neglect no opportunity of doing our duty and discharging that great trust which the parliament hath been pleased to repose in us, which may make it appear how much we are

Your most faithful and humble servants,

ROBT. BLAKE.
RIC. DEANE.

From aboard the Triumph,
in Milford Haven,
June 13, 1649.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRAY TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—I did long since make my appeal in parliament, as the fundamental loyal birthright of the people, for righteousness and justice, and might have expected that (after such glorious and unparalleled declarations, covenants, imprecations, engagements, and actions) I should have had a legal, righteous, Christian, parliamentary, and impartial hearing, between the General and me, according to

the ancient and just constitution of authority, in its first institution, in scripture, Deut. i. 16, 17; and according to the many obligations that lie upon you, from the commands thereof, Deut. xvi. 19, 20.

Is not judgment wrested hitherunto, when, instead of a hearing, I have a prison?[f] and an illegal one too, contrary to the undoubted, infallible, and fundamental right of the people, and of government, "Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons: that which is altogether just, shalt thou follow." 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7. The contrary is abhorred, and judgment denounced against it: Esai. i. 23, 24; Jer. v. 28, 29; xxii. 16, 17, 18; Amos v. 12; vi. 12, 14; Micah iii. 9, 11; Job xx. 6, 7, to the 19th.

"Though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach to the clouds, yet he shall perish for ever, like his own dung; they which have seen him shall say, Where is he?—because he hath oppressed." Acts x. 34; James ii. 9.

You have cut off the late king, for arbitrarily and

[f] Bray had been a captain in colonel Lilburne's regiment, and was one of the leaders of the mutiny at Ware, in November 1647. In March of this year, 1649, he had presented to the members of the house a book, entitled "An Appeal against the Lord Fairfax, General," which was voted "to be scandalous as to the General and council of war, and tending to stir up sedition in the people, and mutiny in the army:" for this he was committed prisoner to Windsor castle. *Whitlocke, March* 19, 1648 [9.]

forcibly violating the laws and liberties of the people; and you have solemnly sworn and covenanted[s] to fight for and maintain the laws and liberties of the people; and wished the wrath and vengeance of heaven and earth to fall upon you, if you did not maintain the laws and liberties, as I have declared in my third Appeal for Commonwealth Justice, which remains dead in your hands, (as I hear;) and he that delivered it unto you (viz. cornet Cheeseman) was imprisoned by lieutenant-general Cromwell.

By arbitrariness, lawlessness, power, force, strength, or the severe sword, (for it will amount to no other as to men,) the Lord Jesus, the precious Son of the Most High, and head of saints, was crucified, butchered, and massacred in the liberties, freedom, and rights of his humanity, as appears by the whole scriptures of his life, the confessions of his judge, and his sufferings. God, the people, law, and conscience, are to be accounted unto for the loss of any person or persons unjustly; for the Lord and a just law tenders innocent blood, and the liberties of his people.

Christ, the glorious Son of God, perfectly declared the laws of nature and justice. You profess yourselves Christians; and yet in this you live beneath the common principles of nature, and in the path of

[s] "A just, substantial, and irrevocable covenant or oath, cannot be acted contrary unto, without the guilt of perjury, as well as unspeakable damage to the people."

former tyrants, whose blood, as water, you have spilt upon the ground; and if you walk contrary to the law of nature, you justify in it the crucifying, butchering, and massacring of the Lord Jesus, &c. and so fill up more and more the measure of bloody abominations.

I have not only been stifled in the rights of nature, the rights of nature according to the creation of God, and been dealt with contrary unto the scriptures, and been committed unto an unlawful prison, and to the jurisdiction [h] of him that hath dealt cruelly, barbarously, unnaturally, unchristianlike, and tyrannically with me, to my insupportable damage, loss, and prejudice, (as to human considerations,) but the warrant by which I am committed is contrary unto law; generals being no crimes in law. Second part of Inst. fol. 52, 53, 315, 511, 615, 616; first part of Declaration of Parliament, p. 38, 77, 20, 845; and the votes upon the impeachment of the eleven members; and the petition of right, 3 C. R.; and the act that abolisheth the Star Chamber.

And I am also committed (by the words of the warrant) "during pleasure;" whereas, if the warrant

[h] "If a man should complain unto a justice of peace, that such a man robbed him, or sought his life, would it be just that the justice of peace should commit the accuser or complainer, and also to the custody and jurisdiction of him that robbed him? Query: What law, scripture, principles of God, or nature, is for this?"

had been legal, it should have been "till delivered by due course of law," righteousness, or justice; and after I have expended myself, and wasted my glorious days and time for the commonweal, in expectation of a glorious issue of the blood that hath been shed here, I have been barbarously kept in prison, without any human consideration all this while for my subsistency, far beyond the dealings of the late king.

Sir, I have only this, as my last unto you or your house, (seeing I have been so much neglected by you in the cause of justice, and consequently of the people, so that neither love to justice nor importunity hath moved you, from me nor from others, neither for me nor for others,) that you would move the house, that I may have freedom from my illegal and oppressive imprisonment and bonds; and have reparations for the same, according to declared principles of the Almighty God, nature, scripture, the splendid declarations of my adversary, &c., acknowledged reason, and the fundamental justice, law, and constitution of the nation; and also that I may have the undoubted freedom of a commoner, a Christian, and member of the people, to follow my appeal in freedom, temperance, and judgment, (which is certainly to come, at which Felix trembled;) and to have a lawful, impartial, and public hearing, according to the nature of law and righteousness, and the being and honour of authority. And if neither will be heard by your house, I desire you to acquaint them, the nature of

justice, and the aforementioned principles, do require a just respect, from them to me, for my subsistency in prison, (which the king himself granted to his prisoners, and so was more just and merciful, as to human consideration,) I having not had any just allowance from them since my barbarous and arbitrary imprisonment, knowing I have been cruelly and arbitrarily dealt with by the General, to my great damage, as my third Appeal expresses: which cruelty and injustice, considering my almost seven years' service in the wars, for the cause of the kingdom, is one of the manifold occasions and engagements to an adamantine heart, much more to a true patriot.

And therefore now I will (the Lord willing) shut up my mouth, if I cannot have justice by this last address, and will surrender up my body, spirit, and cause to the high and mighty God, Judge, and Father, before whom all things are naked and bare, and appeal to the next free representative of parliament, in whom I hope there will be faithfulness, holiness, wisdom, and justice, law, reason, and Christianity.

And however my enemies may deal with my body, whether by murder or otherwise, (I being under the unlawful jurisdiction of my adversaries, who hath dealt cruelly and unjustly with me,) yet my cause shall live in the presence of the Lord, and the generations present and to come, and shall be brought forth in the eternal judgment, where my adversary

shall not appear in his gallant equipage, and where his large houses and lands of the commonwealth, or being General of an army, (which should be the people's,) shall be found too light, and where he shall have no parliament to terrify from doing justice: and if they do murder me, I shall go before, and they will follow after. And, moreover, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my blood may as sensibly rise (as living blood) in the hearts, if not faces, of your house, who have unjustly and unnaturally committed me to the jurisdiction of my adversary, who, it is probable, thirsts after my blood, as well as to rob me, and deprive me of my liberties and rights.

But I trust the Lord will make me willingly to resign up my blood, as well as my liberties, to satisfy his pleasure, as well as the cruelty and inhumanity of justice enemies,[1] for, in a due and serious consideration, it is the Lord's and the people's.

Sir, I hope you will excuse me that I speak what I do, and consider that the Lord hath given me an opportunity to hold forth his excellency and sovereignty against one that is called Excellency; and nature hath given me an occasion, as to my country, and myself in it; and also that the tyranny and cruelty I am under is of no small force upon my spirit. So leaving you and your house to the judg-

[1] "The grandees of the army said, in the Declaration of the 14th June, that justice and righteousness is one of the witnesses of God in the earth."

ment of the great day of the Lord, and the Lord's faithful people in the land, I take my last farewell; and rest

Yours, if you will be the nation's,

WILLIAM BRAY.

From my cruel, arbitrary, and causeless prison and endurance (by that everlasting (to be) accursed principle by which Abel, Naboth, and the Lord Jesus, and many in other days, were crucified and massacred) in Windsor Castle, this 20th day of June, in the year of declared freedom and a called commonwealth.

SIR WILLIAM STRICKLAND TO MR. HARRINGTON.[1]

MR. HARRINGTON,—Upon my passing here into Denmark, where I am to negotiate, by order of parliament, business of great consequence, as I passed through Holland, I was advised by my brother Strickland to call for you; that, in regard I have orders likewise to treat with the town of Hamburgh about the interests of the company there, I may be informed of the present condition of that company: for we heard at London, that the well-affected people

[1] This letter was forged by Harrington himself, who was a concealed royalist. A full account of him and his proceedings is given in a subsequent letter, from sir Walter Strickland to the speaker, p. 155.

were like to be troubled by the pernicious practices of colonel Cockram.[1] Wherefore my earnest desire is, that Mr. Deputy, with two or three more of the chiefest and best-affected men of the company, will be pleased to come to this place of Newenstein, to-morrow morning, that I may give them notice of my orders, so far as hath relation to them; and that we may confer together about the further disposal of my affairs.

I have letters for Mr. Deputy and Mr. Crispe. I expect you here with the others, and entreat you to come along with them.

I would have been loth to have put them or you to these pains, if the condition of my affairs and Montrose's coming, (who will certainly be in Hamburgh within these ten days, with a number of officers,) together with divers other weighty reasons, which I shall impart to you at meeting, did not oblige me to conceal my being here as much as possible. I rest

Your very faithful friend and servant,

W. STRICKLAND.

Newenstein,
July, 1649.

As you approach to this place, one of my servants shall attend you, to conduct you quietly to the place where I am.

[1] Sir John Cockram was engaged in Germany and elsewhere in raising supplies for prince Charles. See *Whitlocke, April* 18, 1650.

Sir, Be pleased to take notice, that I am sir William Strickland, brother to Mr. Walter Strickland, who is resident for the parliament in Holland.

The parliament hath made choice of me to negotiate their affairs here and in Denmark.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO SIR JAMES HARRINGTON.

Sir,—You see by this inclosed,[m] how great damage the earl of Thomond hath sustained by these troubles, and what straits he and his family are reduced unto by reason thereof: you see the modesty of his desires to be such as may well merit consideration. I am confident, that which he seeks is not so much for advantage of himself, as out of a desire to preserve his son-in-law, the earl of Peterborough, fortune and family, from ruin.

If the result of the favour of the house fall upon him, although but in this way, it is very probable it will oblige his lordship to endeavour the peace and quiet of this commonwealth; which will be no disservice to the state, perhaps of more advantage than the extremity of his fine. Besides, you shewing your

[m] This alludes to a petition from the earl of Thomond, touching a debt from the earl of Peterborough. The matter was referred to a committee. *Journals, July* 15.

readiness to do a good office herein will very much oblige,

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.

July 9, 1649.

CHARLES II. TO THE MARQUIS OF ORMOND.

MY LORD,—Though the despatches you will receive together with this may sufficiently inform you of my present condition, and of all that concerns me; yet I cannot forbear to tell you myself, that I am using all the means, and making all the haste I can possibly to you,[a] that I may help you in that great good work you have with such discretion and so good success thus far advanced.

I am so confident of your belief in this, that I must desire your concurrence to help others to think it too, especially such as you find most concerned in it. When I come, I shall better acknowledge your great services; though for the present I say no more, but that I am,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

For the Lord Marquis of Ormond.

[a] Cromwell's rapid successes in Ireland prevented Charles from carrying into effect his purposed expedition to that country. *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 351.

There are three that will come along with this letter, colonel Thornell, colonel Hammond, and major Ascott. Pray have a care of them, for they are very honest men.

COLONEL JONES TO THE SPEAKER.

Honourable Sir,—About the beginning of the last month, Ormond entered these your quarters with a potent army: he is now accounted sixteen thousand foot and five thousand horse, and hath a good train of artillery, having taken in all our garrisons in the county of Kildare, except Ballisonan, (which is gallantly maintained by major Purefoy.) He, the 20th past, sat down before this city, yet at two miles distance; whence, by parties sent out, he hath taken in Maynooth and Drogheda, the latter being maintained with much honour to the besieged, and with great loss to the enemy: there, was the prince proclaimed with great solemnity. Trim is now besieged; so is colonel Monk in Dundalk, the only garrison now left him.

This place is well fortified, yet may it be in danger, if, before the arrival of our forces, (over long delayed,) the enemy, having taken all out-garrisons, should set himself to the work alone, with his united powers, and gain from us the passages by water, whereby relief may be debarred us, for thereby there would be no

landing place; Newry and Carlingford being revolted, Drogheda lost, Dundalk besieged, and there now remaining unbesieged Wicklow castle only, which will be, it is probable, shortly also attempted.

The Ulster Scots are now declared for Ormond; the viscount Montgomery, of Ardes, hath his commission from the prince; Carrickfergus and Belfast are by him sieged. Here the lord Moore, (with all of his family,) the lord baron of Howth, and many other of great estates, are now joined with Ormond. Many also formerly eminent in this army are now revolted, having drawn with them considerable numbers of horse and foot, whereby our numbers are by so much weakened; but our security is the more in the purging out of those lurking here for mischief.

This may be called a second general rebellion: the former was only of Irish, this of Scots and malignant English, unto whom is joined many of like spirit, thence daily flocking to them.

As herein is advantage given you for cutting off those thence escaping you, and intending a return thither to your greater disadvantage; so is there, in this new rebellion, almost as much land escheated as in the former, and what may alone defray the whole charge of the war.

I am at present only in a defensive posture, and that, as to this place alone, not being in condition to advance hence for relieving any of our out-garrisons; all which I esteem as lost, if our supplies arrive not

the sooner. The preserving of this place is the preserving of your interests in all: which I hope (the Lord blessing me) to maintain for you against the whole power of the enemy.

I make bold to offer you, sir, some late passages between Inchiquin and me, wherein he hath declared himself fully of what spirit he is, and what may be of him expected.

I have given Mr. Hutchinson the parliament's good acceptance of his services, mentioned in yours of the 6th past; and for myself, I am most thankful for what hath been in like manner therein expressed as to my particular.

It is and shall be my whole ambition to approve myself in all things faithful to that trust committed to me. So humbly take leave; and remain,

Honourable Sir,

Your most humble servant,

MIC. JONES.

Dublin,
July 16, 1649.

Sir George Ayscue, and all with him, have given very large expressions of their real and good affections to this service, and have contributed much to our preservation; which I humbly desire may be acknowledged.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND TO THE SPEAKER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—About six weeks or two months since, there was brought to my house an Englishman, who called himself Edward Harrington: who told me, he had formerly been a servant to the earl of Firth, or Bramford; and that he had observed that the design of the Scots, by their interesting themselves in the English affairs, was to advantage themselves, and to become arbitrators, for their own benefit, of all our differences. He said, he had followed the late king's party, as thinking himself obliged so to do by some oaths which he had taken, and by his being crowned king. But now, those obligations ending by his death, and he not having the like to prince Charles, and being unwilling, as an Englishman, to be serviceable to the Scots, as he had been, to the prejudice of his own country; he told me he was desirous to do his country some service, which he thought he could do by discovering the design of colonel Cockram, who was going to Hamburgh to set afoot some negotiation with those lords, to engage those lords and the company of English merchants to embrace the interest of prince Charles; which he told me he could do, if I would write to the deputy of the English merchants, or some other of my friends of that company. But I feared he might abuse the merchants by colour of my letters; and therefore I absolutely refused to give him any

letter, either to the deputy or any other merchant; and told him, if he intended any real good offices, as he had promised, I would write a few lines to Mr. Parker, the secretary of the company.

The effect of that letter was no more, but to let Mr. Parker know, that, though he had been of the king's party, he had promised to do good offices for the company; which if he performed, and Mr. Parker pleased to advertise me of it, I should do the best I could, that he might receive a reward for what he should perform, after the service was done; for I told him plainly, that without doing some real service, I could not be assured of his fidelity. But I know Mr. Parker was able enough to know how to make use of such a man, if he were honest, by confiding in him; if not, to see through his pretences. But I was not willing to hazard so much upon the judgment of any merchant, and therefore did not, nor would not, write to any of them by him. But it seems Mr. Parker was not then at Hamburgh, but at London, and so the deputy of the company opened the letter, and thought it some ground of credit to Harrington; though indeed it was not, but only so far as his future services should warrant him.

This Harrington writ to me two several letters, both which I answered in one. His first letter was to represent unto me the great danger of Cockram's negotiation in respect of his violence against the parliament; and told me, he knew no way so likely

to prevent him, as for me to come to Hamburgh, and take upon me to oppose him. Before I answered that letter, I received a second; and that was to press me to come to Hamburgh, and to persuade me to persuade the English company to give him a sum of money, which, he said, need not be very great, to gain over Cockram, who was discontented, not having received such moneys as he expected at the Hague.

I answered both letters in one; which, as I remember, was all the letters that I ever writ to him. First, for my coming, I writ to him I could not do it, because I had no commission from the parliament. For the second, of taking off Cockram, by persuading the merchants to give him money, I was no way of his opinion; for I did not think Cockram, or his negotiation, so considerable: and if the merchants had need of assistance from the parliament, they need but write to Mr. Parker, who was then at London, by whom the merchants might receive such assistance as was necessary for their public interest; it being, in my opinion, no way suitable to the interest the town of Hamburgh had with England, to give any ear to Cockram's negotiation, and therefore, for my own part, I did not apprehend the danger so great as he seemed to conceive it.

This is all that ever past betwixt Harrington and myself. Upon which, it seems, he framed a plot, into which the merchants were something too easily drawn,

by a counterfeit letter, supposed to be written by my brother to him; a copy of which I have herein inclosed.° By reason of which, the deputy and two merchants were unhappily taken and seized; but very happily rescued, and brought back to Hamburgh.

Truly I do not know, since this law of taking and killing men is grown thus common in foreign parts, how any man who serves you abroad, or owns the interest you are engaged in, can be safe, if you do not resent it, and let the ministers of foreign princes and states know that you expect those that own your cause should be protected, if they expect that those who belong to them should be protected in the commonwealth of England and its territories.

I have had audience of the provincial States of Holland, as resident to the commonwealth of England, and have demanded the same of the States General; but they had written into the provinces, to know the mind of their principals, of which they say they have yet received no answer.

I have given account of these things to the council of State, which makes me not so frequently trouble you.

Montrose is yet at the Hague. Many of his men, either for want of money, or to execute some ill design in England, or it may be both, pass frequently into England.

The malignants seem to hope much from the

° Printed above, p. 148.

peace now in treaty betwixt France and Spain, though it be very doubtful what the issue will be; for Spain refuses now to give the same conditions to France which it offered at Munster before the States had made peace with Spain. It is thought here, that prince Charles will pass privately into Scotland or Ireland, in some Dutch ships.

I hope the same Providence will accompany the actions of the parliament, with which it hath hitherto been blessed; to the effecting of which, your own services have been very instrumental: which that you may still be, shall be heartily desired by,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hague,
Aug. $\frac{12}{2}$, 1649.

COLONEL JONES TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Since Ormond's first setting himself before this place, (where he hath continued from the 20th of June to the 2nd instant,) little hath been by him done against this city, he aiming first (it seemeth) at the gaining the principal out-garrisons, Drogheda, Dundalk, and Trim, the last being taken the 21st past.

On the twenty-second, colonel Venables landed,

with his foot; the twenty-fifth landed colonel Reynolds, with his horse; the twenty-sixth, colonel Moore and colonel Thurke's, with their foot; and captain Norwood and major Ellyott, with their troops; whereby this party became in some sort considerable: wherewithal, and by the report of the lord lieutenant's following soon after, with the whole army, the enemy being awakened, they thereupon resolved on setting themselves wholly to this work; and in the first place did they cut off that water whereby our mills were driven, and thereby was our condition something straitened.

But principally, on the second instant, they cast up a work at Baggotsrath, (commonly called Baggarath,) within a quarter of a mile of this city; whither having drawn about fifteen hundred foot, besides horse, they thence purposed to work themselves forward in their approaches, and to take from us our forage for our horse and grass for our cattle, without which this place could not have long subsisted. Also, by building forts towards the sea, was to be taken from us the landing-place for our coming supplies.

Hereby was I necessitated to attempt something for diverting this evil, this being the very ready way for distressing us, and debarring us of our forces expected, and this the only safe landing-place left them in the dominion of Ireland.

The enemy's horse and foot, therefore, appearing

before us at Baggotsrath, the 2nd of this instant, about nine in the morning drew I out twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot, not then intending further than the beating up of the enemy's quarters only, without further engaging with so small a party; their camp being at Rathmynes, within less than a mile of Baggotsrath.

But the Lord blessing us with success in that part of the work, and by the coming on of parties on all sides, it came at length to a general engagement; and, by the same power of our God, ours so gained on the enemy, that, after more than two hours' hot dispute with them, they were totally routed.

Ormond hardly escaped with eight horse, and few had escaped of their whole numbers, but that there was cause to provide against a body of one thousand fresh horse of the enemy's, commanded by sir Thomas Armstrong, which coming up fresh, and in our disorder, might have endangered all; but they, instead of advancing, which we expected, fled towards Drogheda.

Our loss of men was little, there not being twenty missing, but many wounded. Of the enemy were slain about four thousand, and two thousand five hundred and seventeen taken prisoners. We took on the place three demi-cannons, one large square gun, carrying a ball of twelve pounds, one saker-drake, and one mortar piece; all these brass.

Then we also gained about two hundred oxen for

the train, besides carriages. The next day we seized a brass cannon within five miles of the camp.

It was for our advantage that Inchiquin had, some days before, gone towards Munster, yet intending to return shortly. That also we so engaged, before Clanrickard's coming up with his three thousand men of Connaught and seven thousand Ulster Scots, also upon advancing.

In all this must the Lord's hand alone be acknowledged, who, to the praise of the glory of his power, hath done for us so wonderfully, and that but by an handful of men, and not the third part of our foot coming into the principal part of the work; yet by so few the Lord defeated an enemy, by themselves now acknowledged nineteen thousand, and they having a fresh reserve of horse little short of our numbers.

I humbly beg an acknowledgment to sir George Ayscue, our admiral, unto whom this place and this service is exceedingly obliged: from him, on all occasions, have we whatsoever was in his power to contribute to our well being: whose good affections to the public have been such as I must make it my request, (and it is my first,) that he be continued unto us in this command; which I desire not for any bye respects whatsoever, but that I find it so much conducing to the service. So I remain,

Honourable Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

Dublin,
Aug. 6, 1649.

MIC. JONES.

I make bold to recommend to your favour the bearer, captain Ottway, of my regiment, one well deserving of the public.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Before my coming for Ireland, I was bold to move the house on behalf of sir George Ayscue, who then I thought had merited the favour of the parliament, but since, much more, by his very faithful and industrious carriage in this place. It seems, whilst he is attending your service, a lease he holds of the deanery of Windsor had like to be purchased over his head, he not coming to buy it himself by the time limited.

He holds a very considerable part of his estate in church leases, one or more being in impropriate tithes, which he and his ancestors have held for a good time; all which is like to determine and go from him and his by your orders. I found the parliament well to resent the motion I made on his behalf at that time; I desire you please to revive the business, and to obtain the house's favour for him, which they intended and expressed. He will, I presume, herewith send his humble desires: for which I beg your furtherance; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

Dublin,
Aug. 22, 1649.

THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA TO THE DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

DEAR COUSIN,—I will not lose this sure commodity to write to you, not daring to do it by the post, because most letters are opened at London that come from hence, which is the cause you have been this long from hearing from me. This bearer can tell you how all your friends are here. Dan. O'Neal and Thom. Weston brought us news from the king, who was then in very good health. I dare write no more of him, because I doubt not but you hear all that passeth there as well as I. The duke of York will be here very speedily: he is now at Paris.

My niece is very big, she looks towards the end of November: she has her health very well. Rupert has been out to have fought with the rebels' fleet, but they would not stay him, and sailed from him. He followed them three days; but not being able to overtake them, he returned to Lisbon; which they did, within two after, to the same place they were before; and Rupert was to go out again, with more ships, to fight with them, if they will stay him. The king of Portugal gives him all kind of assistance, and is extreme kind and civil to him and Maurice. I pray tell your lord this; and be both assured that you have not a friend in the world loves you both better

than do I, your most affectionate cousin and constant friend.

ELIZABETH.[p]

I pray, if you can, let me know how my poor nephew and niece, the duke of Glocester and princess Elizabeth, are used; for I hear they are in the Isle of Wight. I fear they are but in an ill case, which makes me very sad. The countess is yet in Germany, at the duke of Wirtemberg's court at Stutgard, where she is very well used. It is he that must get her jointure: he is sovereign of the count of Lewenstein's land, where she must have it. He promises much, and sent for the count Lewenstein about it, who was come thither; so as shortly she will see an end of her business, and return hither.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

MY LORDS,—The late mutiny in colonel Ingoldsby's[q] regiment in Oxford being, through the

[p] Daughter of James I. and married to Frederic elector palatine.

[q] Ingoldsby was at this time governor of Oxford. The mutiny here spoken of was chiefly brought about by Lilburne. See *Godwin*, b. iii. c. 10.

courage of the colonel and some other officers of that regiment, suppressed and quieted, I commanded major-general Lambert and other officers of the army to repair thither, as a court martial, to inquire after the chief promoters and abettors thereof, together with the cause and grounds; and to inflict due punishment upon the most guilty, which were members of the army, according to the articles of war. In pursuance of which their instructions they inform, that, upon examination, they found that one serjeant Porringer and one Radman, gentlemen of the army, and some other the most active soldiers of the regiment, held correspondency with certain persons in and about London, (whose names they could not find out,) by whom they were seduced to disobey their officers, and from whom they lately received divers books, entitled "The Outcry of the Apprentices in London," which did invite and encourage them to mutiny.

And upon the breaking out of that late distemper, the said persons did send certain agents to them, who did very much heighten the mutiny, and prevailed with them to imprison their officers: five of which agents were apprehended, upon the suppression of the mutiny, and committed to the mayor of the city of Oxford, where they now continue prisoners.

Moreover, they did discover that the chief cause and ground thereof did proceed from disaffection to the present government, and was driven on by that

dangerous principle commonly known by the name of Levelling; though most of the common soldiers were indeed deluded and drawn in under the fair pretences of freedom, ease of the people from taxation, and the payment of the arrears of the soldiery without defalcation for free quarter.

Lastly, they did inform me, that most of the chief leaders of that regiment were, upon the quieting of the distemper, escaped by flight; and that, upon due examination and serious debates, they only found three whom they did judge worthy of death; four others, which were less guilty, to run the gauntlet and cashiered the army; who were, according to judgments, executed. And the rest of the regiment, being generally through these reasons seduced thereunto, were, according to instructions from me, pardoned, and received into favour; they engaging themselves to be obedient to their officers, and not to act in the like kind again.

This account I thought fit to give your lordships, that thereby you might understand truly from whom and from whence this late disturbance did proceed, and what was chiefly the aim and intention thereby; that you, in your wisdom, may provide such remedies thereto as you shall judge most fit: and shall only add, that I conceive it will be very difficult to keep your army in discipline and order, so long as persons of such dangerous principles take liberty to pervert the soldiers, and escape without due punish-

ment; which I submit likewise to your prudence, and remain

Your lordships' humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Kensington,
Sept. 24, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT WEXFORD.

SIR,—Having brought the army belonging to the parliament of England before this place, to reduce it to its due obedience; to the end effusion of blood may be prevented, and the town and country about it preserved from ruin, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same to me, to the use of the state of England. By this offer, I hope it will clearly appear where the guilt will lie, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the nocent. I expect your speedy answer; and rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.

October 3, 1649.

COLONEL SINNOTT TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

I have received your letters of summons for the delivery up of this town into your hands, which

standeth not with my honour to do of myself; neither will I take it upon me, without the advice of the rest of the officers and mayor of this corporation, (this town being of so great consequence to all Ireland,) whom I will call together and confer with, and return my resolution unto you to-morrow by twelve of the clock. In the mean time, if you be so pleased, I am content to forbear all acts of hostility, so you permit no approach to be made: expecting your answer in that particular, I remain,

My Lord,
Your lordship's servant,
DA. SINNOTT.

Wexford,
Oct. 3, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT WEXFORD.

SIR,—Having summoned you to deliver the town of Wexford into my hands, I might well expect the delivery thereof, and not a formal treaty, which is seldom granted, but where the things stand upon a more equal foot. If therefore yourself or the town have any desires to offer, upon which you will surrender the place to me, I shall be able to judge of the reasonableness of them, when they are made known to me. To which end, if you shall think fit

to send the persons named in your last, entrusted by yourself and the town, by whom I may understand your desires, I shall give you a speedy and fitting answer. And I do hereby engage myself, that they shall return in safety to you. I expect your answer hereunto within an hour; and rest

Your servant,

O. C.

October 4, 1649.

COLONEL SINNOTT TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir,—I have returned you a civil answer, to the best of my judgment; and thereby I find you undervalue me and this place so much, as you think to have it surrendered without capitulation or honourable terms, as appears by the hour's limitation in your last.

Sir, Had I never a man in this town but the townsmen and artillery here planted, I should conceive myself in a very befitting condition to make honourable conditions; and having a considerable party with them in the place, I am resolved to die honourably, or make such conditions as may secure my honour and life in the eyes of my own party. To which reasonable terms if you hearken not, or give me time to send my agents till eight of the clock in the forenoon to-morrow, with my propositions, with a

further safe conduct, I leave you to your better judgment, and myself to the assistance of the Almighty; and so conclude.

Your servant,

DA. SINNOTT.

Wexford,
Oct. 4, 1649.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR,—I have advised with the mayor and officers, as I promised, and thereupon am content that four, whom I shall employ, may have a conference and treaty with four of yours, to see if any agreement and understanding may be begot between us. To this purpose I desire you to send mine a safe conduct, as I do hereby promise to send unto yours when you send me their names. And I pray that the meeting may be had to-morrow at eight of the clock in the forenoon, that they may have sufficient time to confer and debate together, and determine and compose the matter; and that the meeting and place may be agreed upon, and the safe conduct mutually sent for the said meeting this afternoon. Expecting your answer hereto, I rest,

My Lord,

Your servant,

DA. SINNOTT.

Wexford,
Oct. 4, 1649.

Send me the names of your agents, their qualities and degrees. Those I fix upon are, major James Byrne, major Theobald Dillon, alderman Nicholas Chevers, Mr. William Stafford.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir,—My propositions being now prepared, I am ready to send my agents with them unto you; and for their safe return, I pray you to send a safe conduct by the bearer unto me; in hope an honourable agreement may thereupon arise between your lordship and,

My Lord,
Your lordship's servant,
Da. Sinnott.

Wexford,
Oct. 5, 1649.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

My Lord,—Even as I was ready to send out my agents unto you, the lord General of the horse came hither with a relief, unto whom I communicated the proceedings between your lordship and me, and delivered him the propositions I intended to despatch unto your lordship; who hath desired a small time to consider of them and to speed them unto me: which,

my lord, I could not deny, he having a commanding power over me. Pray, my lord, believe that I do not do this to trifle out time, but for his present consent; and if I find any long delay in his lordship's returning them back unto me, I will proceed of myself, according to my first intention: to which I beseech your lordship give credit, at the request,

My Lord,

Of your lordship's ready servant,

DA. SINNOTT.

Wexford,
Oct. 5, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO COLONEL SINNOTT.

SIR,—You might have spared your trouble in the account you give me of your transaction with the lord-general of your horse, and of your resolution in case he answer not your expectation in point of time. These are your own concernments, and it behoves you to improve the relief you mention to your best advantage. All that I have to say is, to desire you to take notice, that I do hereby revoke my safe conduct from the persons mentioned therein. When you shall see cause to treat, you may send for another. I rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

O. C.

Oct. 6, 1649.

COLONEL SINNOTT TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

SIR,—In performance of my last, I desire your lordship to send me a safe conduct for major Theobald Dillon, major James Byrne, alderman Nicholas Chevers, and captain James Stafford, whom I will send to your lordship instructed with my desires; and so I rest,

My Lord,

Your servant,

DA. SINNOTT.

Wexford,
Oct. 11, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.[r]

SIR,—The army marched from Dublin, about the 23rd of September, into the county of Wicklow, where the enemy have a garrison, about fourteen miles from Dublin, called Killingkerick; which they quitting, a company of the army was put therein. From thence the army marched through almost a de-

[r] This letter is to be found in "Cromwelliana," but reprinted from a cotemporary pamphlet, and not from the original. The parliament, under whose direction despatches to the Speaker were frequently published, allowed alterations to be made and passages omitted in them, so as, in their view, to adapt them better for public reading.

solated country, until it came to a passage over the river Doro, about a mile above the castle of Arcklow, which was the first seat and honour of the marquis of Ormond's family; which he had strongly fortified, but was, upon the approach of the army, quitted: wherein we left another company of foot.

From thence the army marched towards Wexford, where, in the way, was a strong and large castle, at a town called Limerick, the ancient seat of the Esmonds', where the enemy had a strong garrison, which they burnt and quitted the day before our coming thither.

From thence we marched towards Fernes, an episcopal seat, where was a castle, to which I sent colonel Reynolds with a party to summon it; which accordingly he did, and it was surrendered to him: where we, having put a company, advanced the army to a passage over the river Slane, which runs down to Wexford, and that night marched into the field of a village called Enniscorfy, belonging to Mr. Robert Wallop; where was a strong castle, very well manned and provided for by the enemy, and close under it, in a very fair house, belonging to the same worthy person, a monastery of Franciscan friars, the considerablest in all Ireland. They run away the night before we came. We summoned the castle, and they refused to yield at the first, but upon better consideration they were willing to deliver the place to us: which accordingly they did, leaving their great

guns, arms and ammunition, and provisions behind them.

Upon Monday the first of October we came before Wexford, into which the enemy had put a garrison, consisting of their army; this town having until then been so confident of their own strength, as that they would not at any time suffer a garrison to be imposed upon them.

The commander that brought in those forces was colonel David Sinnott, who took upon him the command of the place, to whom I sent a summons, a copy whereof is this inclosed; between whom and me there passed answers and replies, copies whereof these also are. Whilst these papers were passing between us, I sent the lieutenant-general, with a party of dragoons, horse, and foot, to endeavour to reduce their fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbour, about ten miles distant from us, to which he sent a troop of dragoons: but the enemy quitted their fort, leaving behind them about seven great guns, betook themselves, by the help of their boats, to a frigate of twelve guns, lying in the harbour within cannon-shot of the fort.

The dragoons possessed the fort; and some seamen belonging to your fleet coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the frigate, and she immediately yielded to mercy, both herself, and the soldiers that had been in the fort, and the seamen that manned her. And whilst our men were in her,

the townsmen, knowing what had happened, sent another small vessel to her, which our men also took.

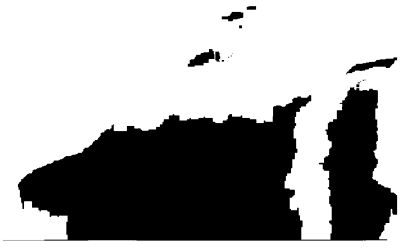
The governor of the town having obtained from me a safe conduct for the four persons, mentioned in one of the papers, to come and treat with me about the surrender of the town, I expected they should have done so; but instead thereof, the earl of Castlehaven brought to their relief, on the north side of the river, about five hundred foot, which occasioned their refusal to send out any to treat, and caused me to revoke my safe conduct, not thinking it fit to leave it for them to make use of it when they pleased.

Our cannon being landed, and we having removed all our quarters to the south-east end of the town, near the castle, it was generally agreed that we should bend the whole strength of our artillery upon the castle; being persuaded, that if we got the castle, the town would easily follow.

Upon Thursday, the 11th instant, (our batteries being finished the night before,) we began to play betimes in the morning; and having spent near a hundred shot, the governor's stomach came down, and he sent to me to give leave for four persons, entrusted by him, to come unto me, and offer terms of surrender; which I condescending to, two field-officers, with an alderman of the town and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions inclosed; which, for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to

your view, together with my answer, which indeed had no effect: for whilst I was preparing of it, studying to preserve the town from plunder, that it might be of the more use to you and your army, the captain, who was one of the commissioners, being fairly treated, yielded up the castle to us; upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the enemy quitted the walls of the town: which our men perceiving, ran violently upon the town with their ladders, and stormed it. And when they were come into the market-place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them, and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the enemy attempting to escape, being overpressed with numbers, sunk; whereby were drowned near three hundred of them. I believe, in all, there was lost of the enemy not many less than two thousand; and I believe not twenty of yours killed, from first to last of the siege.

And indeed it hath not without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that we intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army, yet God would not have it so; but by an unexpected providence, in his righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them, causing them to become a prey to the soldier; who, in their piracies, had made preys of so many families, and made with their blood to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of



divers poor Protestants, two of which I have been lately acquainted with. About seven or eight score poor Protestants were put by them into an old vessel, which being, as some say, bulged by them, the vessel sunk, and they were all presently drowned in the harbour. The other was thus. They put divers poor Protestants into a chapel, which since they have used for a mass house, and in which one or more of their priests was found, where they were famished to death.

The soldier got a very good booty in this place: and had they not had opportunity to carry their goods over the river whilst we besieged it, it would have been much more. I could have wished, for their own good and the good of the garrison, they had been more moderate: some things, which were not easily portable, we hope we shall make use of to your behoof. There are great quantities of iron, hides, tallow, salt, pipe and barrel staves; which are under commissioners' hands, to be secured. We believe there are near a hundred cannon in the fort, and elsewhere in and about the town. Here is likewise some very good shipping. Here are three vessels; one of them of thirty-four guns, which a week's time would fit to sea. There is another, of about twenty guns, very near ready likewise; and one other frigate, of twenty guns, upon the stocks, made for sailing, which is built up to the uppermost deck: for her handsomeness sake, I have appointed the workmen to finish her,

here being materials to do it, if you or the council of state shall approve thereof.

The frigate also taken by the fort is a most excellent vessel for sailing; besides divers other ships and vessels in the harbour.

This town is now so in your power, that the former inhabitants, I believe, scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses: most of them are run away, and many of them killed in the service. And it were to be wished, that an honest people would come and plant here, where are very good houses, and other accommodations fitted to their hands, and may, by your favour, be made of encouragement to them; as also a seat of good trade, both inward and outward, and of marvellous great advantage in the point of the herring and other fishing. The town is pleasantly seated, and strong, having a rampart of earth within the wall near fifteen feet thick.

Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy; for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory: indeed, your instruments are poor and weak, and can do nothing but through believing, and that is the gift of God also. I humbly take leave; and rest

Your most humble servant,

Wexford,
Oct. 14, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

A day or two before our battery was planted, Ormond, the earl of Castlehaven, the lord of Ardes

and Clanneboys, were on the other side of the water, with about eighteen hundred horse, fifteen hundred foot, and offered to put in four or five hundred foot more into the town; which the town refusing, he marched away in all haste. I sent the lieutenant-general after him, with about fourteen hundred horse, but the enemy made haste from him.

COLONEL SINNOTT'S PROPOSITIONS FOR THE SURRENDER OF WEXFORD.

THE propositions of colonel David Sinnott, governor of the town and castle of Wexford, for and on the behalf of the officers, and soldiers, and inhabitants in the said town and castle, unto general Cromwell.

I. In primis, That all and every the inhabitants of the said town, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall have free and uninterrupted liberty publicly to use, exercise, and profess the Roman Catholic religion, without restriction, mulct, or penalty, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. That the regular and secular Roman Catholic clergy now possessed of the churches, church livings, monasteries, religious houses and chapels in the said town, and in the suburbs and franchises thereof, and their successors, shall have, hold, and enjoy, to

them and their successors for ever, the said churches, church livings, monasteries, religious houses and chapels, and shall teach and preach in them publicly, without any molestation, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. That Nicholas, now lord bishop of Fernes, and his successors, shall use and exercise such jurisdiction over the Catholics of his diocese, as since his consecration hitherto he used.

IV. That all the officers and soldiers, of what quality or degree soever, in the said town and castle, and such of the inhabitants as are so pleased, shall march with flying colours, and be conveyed safe, with their lives, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, arms, goods of all sorts, horses, moneys, and what else belongs to them, to the town of Ross, and there to be left safe with their own party; allowing each musqueteer, towards their march, a pound of powder, four yards of match, and twelve brace of bullets; and a strong convoy to be sent with the said soldiers, within four and twenty hours after the yielding up of the said town.

V. That such of the inhabitants of the said town as will desire to leave the same at any time hereafter, shall have free liberty to carry away out of the said town, all their frigates, artillery, arms, powder, bullets, match, corn, malt, and other provision which they have for their defence and sustenance, and all their goods and chattels, of what quality or condition

soever, without any manner of disturbance whatsoever, and have passes, and safe conducts and convoys for their lives and said goods to Ross, or where else they shall think fit.

VI. That the mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses, and commons of the said town, may have, hold, and enjoy the said town and suburbs, their commons, their franchises, their liberties and immunities, which hitherto they enjoyed; and that the mayor, bailiffs, and free burgesses may have the government of the said town, as hitherto they enjoyed the same from the realm of England, and that they may have no other government, they adhering to the state of England, and observing their orders, and the orders of their governors in this realm for the time being.

VII. That all and every the burgesses and inhabitants, either native or strangers, of the said town, who shall continue their abode therein, or come to live there within three months, and their heirs, shall have, hold, and enjoy all and singular their several castles, messuages, houses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the land of Ireland, and all their goods and chattels, of what nature, quality, or condition soever, to them and their heirs, to their own several uses for ever without molestation.

VIII. That such burgess or burgesses, or other inhabitant of the said town, as shall at any time hereafter be desirous to leave the said town, shall have free leave to dispose of their real and personal estates

respectively, to their best advantage; and further have full liberty and a safe conduct respectively to go into England, or elsewhere, according to their several pleasures who shall desire to depart the same.

IX. That all and singular the inhabitants of the said town, either native or strangers, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall have, reap, and enjoy the full liberty of free-born English subjects, without the least incapacity or restriction therein; and that all the freemen of the said town, from time to time, shall be as free in all the seaports, cities, and towns in England, as the freemen of all and every the said cities and towns; and all and every the freemen of the said cities and towns to be as free in the said town of Wexford as the freemen thereof, for their greater encouragement to trade and commerce together of all hands.

X. That no memory remain of any hostility or distance which was hitherto between the said town and castle on the one part, and the parliament or state of England of the other part; but that all act and acts, transgressions, offences, depredations, and other crimes, of what nature or quality soever, be they ever so transcendent, attempted or done, or supposed to be attempted or done, by the inhabitants of the said town or any other, heretofore or at present adhering to the said town, either native or stranger, and every of them, shall pass in oblivion without chastisement, challenge, recompense, demand, or questioning for

them, or any of them, now or at any time hereafter.

COLONEL DEANE TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having this day received certain intelligence from my lord lieutenant of Ireland, and colonel Blake, of Cork, declaring for the parliament of England, and turning out major-general Starling and the Irish, (of which I believe my partner, colonel Blake, has given the council of state an account,) and now having had a clear narrative of it by one that was an actor in the whole business, I thought myself obliged to give you this account of it.

The 16th of October, at night, colonel Townsend, colonel Warden, and colonel Gifford, (being there prisoners for the business of Youghall,) were ordered to be disposed into three several castles. Next day, some of the officers in the town came to these gentlemen that night, and told them they were undone, unless they would stand by them, for they would else be slaves to the Irish. Upon which, the three colonels replied, that if they would fetch for each of them a sword and pistols, they would live and die with them; which was done: and the guards, perceiving them coming down stairs armed, cried, "We are for you too:" and from thence they marched to the main guard, and they immediately declared with

them, upon this general consent, crying out with all the Irish; in which all the townsmen that were English, and the soldiers unanimously agreed, and put it presently in execution. They put out the next morning their major-general Starling, and those few that dissented: and since that, Youghall hath done the same, as this gentleman informs me, who came from Cork but two days since. And those of Youghall had writ to colonel Gifford, (the present governor of Cork,) to send colonel Warden, with a hundred horse, to their assistance: for they had seized on sir Percy Smith, their governor, and Johnson, which betrayed them formerly, and some others, and had secured them in the castle.

Thus it hath pleased God, of his infinite goodness, to help, when men were most weak: for truly, after the taking of Ross, and the besieging of Duncannon, (a place of great strength and concernment,) what with sickness and garrisons and that siege, my lord lieutenant was very unable to attempt any thing further upon the enemies; and still is, except you hasten over the recruits of horse and foot, with those provision of clothes and necessaries, so long promised and so earnestly expected.

Truly, sir, methinks every English heart should act more than an ordinary pace, when we see such a series of divine providences going along with us, and miraculously assisting beyond a human apprehension; which I hope all honest hearts will be sensible of,

lest having such an opportunity given them, and they, neglecting it, wander in the wilderness many years.

Ormond and O'Neile are joined, and lie within fourteen miles of Ross. They give themselves out to be twenty-two thousand; but it is credibly reported (from a very sure hand) to be seven thousand foot and three thousand horse, at least: which how much it exceeds the number you are able to make to encounter them, I will not say; but this I am sure, that expedition in all supplies is the life of your business.

Rupert, three days after Cork declaring for the parliament, in great haste sailed from Kinsale with seven sail of ships. Which way he is gone we know not; but it concerns you to hasten out as many of the winter guard as are come in to be victualled and fitted. I think it would be a service to the commonwealth, if you could persuade Mr. Prideaux to settle the stages of the posts so in Wales, that our letters might pass more certainly and speedily; it being the only way for my lord lieutenant to hold correspondence with the parliament during his abode in those parts of Ireland he now is, and also a thing he much desires.

I have, ever since my coming out of Ireland, been troubled with the distemper of that country disease, that brought me into a fever; and after I had, with keeping my bed, pretty well recovered myself, I went abroad somewhat too soon, and relapsed into a violent

fit of burning, which hath made me a prisoner to my bed ever since; and I am afraid I shall make you the like to this paper: but lest you should be as weary of this letter as I am of my bed, give leave to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your honour's humble servant,

RT. DEANE.

Milford Haven,
Nov. 8, 1649.

Sir, Be pleased to take this as a private letter to yourself.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO MR. SCOTT.*

SIR,—I hope you will excuse this trouble. I understand the house did vote lieutenant-general Jones £500 per annum, of lands of inheritance of Irish lands, upon the news of the defeat given to the enemy before Dublin, immediately before my coming over.

I think it will be a very acceptable work, and very well taken at your hands, to move the house for an immediate settlement thereof: it will be very convenient at this time. Another thing is this: the lord Broghil is now in Munster, where he, I hope, will do very good offices: all his suit is for £200 to bring

* A member of the council of state.

his wife over: such a sum would not be cast away. He hath a great interest in the men that come from Inchiquin. I have made him and sir William Fenton, colonel Blake, and colonel Deane, (who I believe one of them, will be frequently in Cork harbour, making that a victualling place for the Irish fleet instead of Milford Haven,) and colonel Phaire, commissioners for a temporary management of affairs there. This business of Munster will empty your treasury; therefore you have need to hasten our money allotted us, lest you put us to stand with our fingers in our mouths. I rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Ross,
Nov. 14, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.[1]

SIR,—About a fortnight since, I had some good assurances that Cork was returned to its obedience, and had refused Inchiquin, who did strongly en-

[1] This letter also, with some omissions, is to be found in "Cromwelliana." It may be here mentioned, once for all, that where Cromwell's letters are in that work, they are collated with his own original, and inserted in the present work only when some material variations or additions are discovered.

deavour to redintegrate himself there, but without success.

I did hear also, that colonel Townsend was coming to me with their submission and desires, but was interrupted by a fort at the mouth of Cork harbour. But having sufficient grounds upon the former information, and other confirmations (out of the enemy's camp) that it was true, I desired general Blake (who was here with me) that he would repair thither in captain Mildmay's frigate, called the Nonsuch; who, when they came thither, received such entertainment as these inclosed will let you see.

In the mean time, the Garland, one of your third-rate ships, coming happily into Waterford bay, I ordered her and a great prize, lately taken in that bay, to transport colonel Phaire to Cork; whitherward he went, having along with him near five hundred foot, which I spared him out of this poor army, and fifteen hundred pounds in money; giving him such instructions as were proper for the promoting of your interest there.

As they went with an intention for Cork, it pleased God, the wind coming cross, they were forced to ride off from Dungarvon, where they met captain Mildmay, returning with the Nonsuch frigate, with colonel Townsend aboard, coming to me; who advertised them that Youghall had also declared for the parliament of England. Whereupon they steered their course thither, and sent for colonel Gifford, colonel Warden, major

Purden, (who, with colonel Townsend, hath been very active instruments for the return both of Cork and Youghall to their obedience, having some of them ventured their lives twice or thrice to effect it,) and the mayor of Youghall, aboard them; who accordingly immediately came, and made tender of some propositions to be offered to me. But my lord Broghil, being on board the ship, assuring them it would be more for their honour and advantage to desire no conditions, they said they would submit. Whereupon my lord Broghil, sir William Fenton, and colonel Phaire went to the town, and were received (I shall give you my lord Broghil's own words) "with all the real demonstrations of gladness an overjoyed people were capable of."

Not long after, colonel Phaire landed his foot; and, by the endeavours of the noble person afore mentioned and the rest of the gentlemen, the garrison is put in good order, and the Munster officers and soldiers in that garrison in a way of settlement. Colonel Phaire, as I hear, intends to leave two hundred men there, and to march with the rest overland to Cork.

I hear by colonel Townsend, and the rest of the gentlemen that were employed to me, that Baltimore, Castlehaven, Caperquin, and some other places of hard names, are come in, (I wish foot come over seasonably to man them,) as also that there are hopes of other places.

From sir Charles Coote, lord president of Connaught, I had a letter about three or four days since, that he is come over the Band, and hath taken Coleraine by storm; and that he, being in communication with colonel Venables, who I hear hath besieged Carrickfergus; which if, through the mercy of God, it be taken, I know nothing considerable in the north of Ireland but Charlemount which is not in your hands.

We lie with the army at Ross, where we have been making the bridge over the Barrow, and hardly yet accomplished as we could wish. The enemy lies upon the Noer, on the land between the Barrow and it, having gathered together all the force they can get, Owen Roe's men, as they report them, six thousand foot and about four hundred horse, besides their own army. And they give out they will have a day for it; which we hope the Lord of his mercy will enable us to give them, in his own good time: in whom we desire our only trust and confidence may be.

Whilst we have lain here, we have not been without some sweet taste of the goodness of God. Your ships have taken some good prizes. The last was thus. There came in a Dunkirk man of war, with thirty-two guns, who brought in a Turkish man of war, whom she had taken, and another ship of ten guns, loaden with poor-john and oil: these two your ships took. But the man of war, whose prizes these

two were, put herself under the fort of Duncannon, so that your ships could not come near her. It pleased God, we had two demi-cannon with the foot on the shore, which being planted raked her through, killing and wounding her men; that after ten shot she weighed anchor, and run into your fleet with a flag of submission, surrendering herself. She was well manned, the prisoners taken being two hundred and thirty.

I doubt the taking prisoners of this sort will cause the wicked trade of piracy to be endless. They were landed here before I was aware; and a hundred of them, as I hear, are gotten into Duncannon, and have taken up arms there: and I doubt the rest, that are gone to Waterford, will do us no good; the seamen, being so full of prizes, and unprovided of victual, know not how best to dispose of them.

Another was this: we having left divers sick men, both horse and foot, at Dublin, hearing many of them were recovered, sent them orders to march up to us; which accordingly they did, coming to Arcklow on Monday, the 1st of this instant, being about three hundred and fifty horse, and about eight hundred foot. The enemy hearing of them, (through the great advantage they have in point of intelligence,) drew together a body of horse and foot, near three thousand, which Inchiquin commanded. There went also with this party, sir Thomas Armstrong, colonel Trevor, and most of their great ranters. We sent fifteen or sixteen troops to their rescue, near eight hours too late.

It pleased God we sent them word, by a nearer way, to march close, and be circumspect, and make what haste they could to Wexford by the sea side. They had marched near eighteen miles, and were come within seven miles of Wexford, (the foot being miserably wearied,) when the enemy gave the scouts of the near-guard an alarum: whereupon they immediately drew up, in the best order they could, upon the sands, the sea on the one hand and the rocks on the other; where the enemy made a very furious charge, overbearing our horse with their numbers, which, as some of their prisoners confess, was fifteen hundred of their best horse, forced them in some disorder back to the foot: our foot stood forbearing their firing, till the enemy was come almost within pistol shot, and then let fly very full in the faces of them; whereby some of them began to tumble, the rest running off in very great disorder, and faced not about until they got about musket shot off. Upon this our horse took encouragement, drawing up again, bringing up some foot to flank them: and a gentleman of ours, that had charged through before, being amongst them undiscerned, having put his signal into his hat as they did, took his opportunity, and came off; letting our men know, that the enemy was in great confusion and disorder; and that if they could attempt another charge, he was confident good might be done on them.

It pleased God to give our men courage; they ad-

vanced, and falling upon the enemy, totally routed them, took two colours, divers prisoners, and killed divers upon the place and in the pursuit. I do not hear that we had two men killed, and but one mortally wounded, and not five that are prisoners. The quick march of our party made Inchiquin he could not reach them with nothing but his horse, hoping to put them to a stand until his foot came up; which, if he had done, there had probably been no saving of a man of this party. Without doubt, Inchiquin, Trevor, and the rest of those people, who are very good at this work, had swallowed up this party, and, indeed, it was in human probability lost; but God, that defeated Trevor in his attempt upon Venables, (who, as I hear this night from the enemy's camp, was shot through the belly in this service, and is carried to Kilkenny, sir Thomas Armstrong is also wounded,) hath disappointed them, and poured shame upon them in this defeat; giving us the lives of a company of our dear friends, which I hope will be improved to his glory and yours, and their country's good.

Sir, Having given you this account, I shall not trouble you much with particular desires; those I shall humbly present to the council of state: only in the general, give me leave humbly to offer whatever in my judgment I conceive to be for your service, with a full submission to you.

We desire recruits may be speeded to us. It is not

fit to tell you how your garrisons will be unsupplied, or no field marching army considerable, if three garrisons more were in our hands.

It is not well not to follow Providence. Your recruits and the forces desired will not raise your charge. If your assignments already for the forces here did come to our hands in time, I should not doubt, by the addition of assessments here, to have your charge in some reasonable measure borne and the soldier upheld, without much neglect or discouragement; which, sickness in this country, so ill agreeing with their bodies, puts upon them; and this winter's action, I believe not heretofore known by English in this country, subjects them to.

To the praise of God I speak it, I scarce know an officer of forty amongst us that hath not been sick; and how many considerable ones we have lost, is no little thought of heart to us: wherefore, I humbly beg that the moneys desired may be seasonably sent over, and those other necessaries, clothes, shoes, and stockings, formerly desired, that so poor creatures may be encouraged; and, through the same blessed presence that hath gone along with us, I hope before it be long to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of its commonwealth. And certainly the extending your help in this way at this time is the most profitable means speedily to effect it. And if I did not think it your best thrift, I would not trouble you at all with it.

I have sent sir Arthur Loftus with these letters. He hath gone along with us, testifying a great deal of love to your service.

I know his sufferings are very great, for he hath lost near all: his regiment was reduced to save your charge, not out of any exceptions to his person. I humbly therefore present him to your consideration. Craving pardon for this trouble, I rest

Your most humble and faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Ross,
Nov. 14, 1649.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MR. SPEAKER,—The enemy being quartered between the two rivers of Noer and the Barrow, and masters of all the passages thereupon, and giving out their resolution to fight us, thereby, as we conceived, labouring to get reputation in the countries, and accession of more strength, it was thought fit our army should march towards them; which accordingly, upon Thursday the 15th instant, was done.

The major-general and lieutenant-general, (leaving me very sick at Ross behind them,) with two battering guns advanced towards Enisteoge, a little walled town about five miles from Ross, upon the Noer, on the south side thereof, which was possessed by the enemy; but a party of our men, under the

command of colonel Abbott, the night before approaching the gates, and attempting to fire the same, the enemy run away through the river, leaving good store of provisions behind them.

Our commanders hoped, by gaining this town, to have gained a pass: but indeed there fell so much sudden wet, as made the river impassable by the time the army was come up. Whereupon, hearing that the enemy lay about two miles off, upon the river, near Thomas-town, a pretty large walled town upon the Noer, on the north side thereof, having a bridge over the river, our army marched thither; but the enemy had broke the bridge and garrisoned the town, and in the view of our army marched away to Kilkenny, seeming to decline an engagement, although I believe they were double our numbers; which they had power to have necessitated us unto, but was no ways in our power (if they would stand upon the advantage of the passes) to engage them unto, nor indeed to continue out two days longer, having almost spent all the bread they carried with them.

Whereupon, (seeking God for direction,) they resolved to send a good party of horse and dragoons, under colonel Reynolds, to Carrick, and to march the residue of the army back towards Ross, to gain more bread for the prosecution of that design, if, by the blessing of God, it should take. Colonel Reynolds, marching with twelve troops of horse and three troops of dragoons, came betimes in the

morning to Carrick; where dividing himself into two parties, whilst they were amazed with the one, he entered one of the gates with the other: which the soldiers perceiving, divers of them and their officers escaped over the river in boats. About a hundred officers and soldiers taken prisoners, without the loss of one man on our part.

In this place is a very good castle, and one of the ancientest seats, belonging to the lord of Ormond, in Ireland. The same was rendered without any loss also: where was good store of provisions for the refreshing of our men. The colonel giving us speedy intelligence, (of God's mercy in this,) we agreed to march, with all convenient speed, the residue of the army up thither; which accordingly was done upon Wednesday and Thursday, the 21st and 22nd of this instant; and, through God's mercy, I was enabled to bear them company.

Being come thither, we did look at it as an especial good hand of Providence to give us this place, inasmuch as it gives us a passage over the river Shewer to the city of Waterford; and indeed into Munster, to our shipping and provisions, which before were beaten from us out of Waterford bay by the enemy's guns. It hath given us also the opportunity to besiege or block up Waterford, and we hope our gracious God will therein direct us also. It hath given us also the opportunity of our guns, ammunition, and victual, and indeed quarter for our horse,

which could not have subsisted much longer: so sweet a mercy was the gaining of this little place unto us.

Having rested there a night, and by noon the next day gotten our army over the river, leaving colonel Reynolds, with about one hundred and fifty foot, his own six troops of horse, and one troop of dragoons, with a very little ammunition, according to the smallness of our marching store, we marched away towards Waterford upon Friday the 23rd, and on Saturday, about noon, came before the city. The enemy not being a little troubled at this unsuspected business, (which indeed was the mere guidance of God,) marches down with great fury towards Carrick, with their whole army, resolving to swallow it up, and upon Saturday, the 24th, assaults the place round, thinking to take it by storm: but God had otherwise determined; for the troopers and the rest of the soldiers with stones did so pelt them, they continuing very near four hours under the walls, having burnt the gates, which our men barricadoed up with stones, and likewise digged under the walls and sprung a small mine, which flew in their own faces; but they left about forty or fifty men dead under the walls, and have drawn off, as some say, near four hundred more, which they buried up and down the fields, besides what are wounded; and, as Inchiquin himself confessed, in the hearing of some of their soldiers lately come to us, hath lost him above one thousand men. The enemy was drawing off his dead a good

part of the night. They were in such haste upon the assault, that they killed their own trumpet, as he was returning with an answer to the summons sent by them. Both in the taking and defending of this place, colonel Reynolds's carriage was such as deserves much honour.

Upon our coming before Waterford, I sent the lieutenant-general, with a regiment of horse and three troops of dragoons, to endeavour the reducing of Passage Fort, a very large fort, with a castle in the midst of it, having five guns planted in it, and commanding the river better than Duncannon; it not being much above musket-shot over where this fort stands, and we can bring up hither ships of three hundred tons, without any danger from Duncannon. Upon the attempt, though our materials were not very apt for the business, yet the enemy called for quarter, and had it, and we the place. We also possessed the guns which the enemy had planted to beat our ships out of the bay two miles below.

By the taking of this fort, we shall much straiten Duncannon from provisions by water, as we hope they are not in a condition to get much by land, besides the advantage it is of to us to have provisions to come up the river.

It hath pleased the Lord, whilst these things hath been thus transacting here, to add to your interest in Munster, Bandon Bridge: the town, as we hear upon the matter, thrusting out young Jepson, who was their

governor, or else he deserting it upon that jealousy. As also Kinsale, and the fort there; out of which fort four hundred men marched upon articles when it was surrendered. So that now, by the good hand of the Lord, your interest in Munster is near as good already as ever it was since this war began.

I sent a party, about two days ago, to my lord of Broghil, from whom I expect to have an account of all.

Sir, What can be said to these things? Is it an arm of flesh that doth these things? Is it the wisdom and counsel or strength of men? It is the Lord only. God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise. Sir, you see the work is done by a divine leading: God gets into the hearts of men, and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your army is fitter for an hospital than the field. If the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitic to have writ it. They know it, yet they know not what to do.

I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government in the greatest trust, that they may all in heart draw near to God, giving him glory by holiness of life and conversation, that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least in praising God. And if the Father of the

Hague, for the subscribing the Engagement,[a] as conceiving that company to be more immediately subject to parliamentary authority than any other place in Holland; they enjoying many privileges by the contract betwixt the two States, and therefore more honourable to do it there.

I having written to the deputy, that I had no power to treat or dispute, but expected submission, or else I was to return the refusers; major-general Massey, it seems, thought to make himself head of the opposite party, looked back upon his former qualification of being of the company, and yet in that he was not over fortunate, and came up into the room where I was; and was, in his own opinion, full of reason as well as zeal to oppose my proceedings, especially that the company had rights by contract betwixt the States General and the king. I told him, my instructions were short: if he were a merchant, to expect his subscribing; if not, I would certify his refusal; and for any other matter, how easy soever it was for me to answer him as a principal man, in the capacity I was now in, I would not: for my authority was limited by my instructions; and I was not to dispute, but to see done what I had in charge.

[a] The Engagement was framed and adopted in parliament shortly after the execution of the king. It purported to express the approbation of the subscriber of all that had been done in the king's trial, in the abolishing of kingship, and the taking away the house of lords, &c. See *Whitlocke, Feb.* 19, 1649; and *Godwin*, book iii. c. 2.

He told me, if he were in London he would tell the council of state they were enemies or traitors to the parliament. I told him, I did not believe him; because the last time he was at London he came away in so much haste, as I did believe he intended no more to take the leisure to tell them of their faults: in short, I told him I was not at all worse satisfied in my proceedings because it pleased him not, looking upon him now as a person I might honestly differ from. So that I required the deputy to subscribe; which he did, and the treasurer, and more than twenty of the rest: which Massey seeing, went away displeased; for it seems he had undertaken more than he was able to perform: and truly I have not yet seen a man thrust himself into a business with less advantage than he did. It seems, he had rather play at small game than stand out: but he and his confederates having resolved to take up your time with reasons and apologies, which when I would not admit, neither at the Hague nor Rotterdam, they were ill satisfied with me, and would fain have returned you such stuff by the deputy; who, I told them, had no power to do any such thing: he was only to return me the names, and summon them to appear; but it was my part to make such returns as I was commanded.

I am since informed, that Mr. John Wardell and Nathaniel Lawrence, two refusers, as you may see by the roll, are sent away to London to your honours,

to offer your honours some such reasons as they would have done me, for their not subscribing in the name of themselves and their fellows. If they be, I hope your honours will give them a sharp reproof, for they are instruments of those who did desire to hinder the Engagement here, and refused it; and Mr. Wardell, like a cunning knave, entreated me to give him time for three or four days to satisfy himself in point of conscience, and that before Thursday he would come to me to the Hague, and immediately goes away for London, without saying a word to me. And men think, he and Lawrence are sent by those of Massey's faction to get favour for the malignants: and truly our honest merchants here, who suffer for you every way, are discouraged, the malignants find such favour at London; and when they are grown rich with playing the malignants, they compound for a trifle, as Ford hath done, and are in a much better condition than if they had not been malignants. For here malignants gain more trade, more credit than the rest: and if you do not, some way or other, set some mark of favour upon the good, and some mark of displeasure upon the rest, the honest men who have subscribed will be losers in all but being honest, and the rest will be gainers.

It seems, the company at Rotterdam is in debt. It is desired, if the refusers be put out of the company, that they may yet remain liable for the debt, and pay their shares. It is reported here, but I hope

it is not true, that one Missleton is to be deputy of the company at Hamburgh; a man reputed here, not only a royal malignant, but a scandalous man in his life and conversation.

I have sent your honours another paper, given in by me about the ship of Samuel Vassall and his partners; in which proposition your honours will see, I have put home that business, and the consequences of it. The States of Holland have sent to the West India company, to know all the particulars about that business: and when the States of Holland meet again, for now they are gone home for a fortnight, they will give me an answer more particularly. I see already they pitch upon some commission by the king of Portugal, I would not mention the adjudication in the admiralty at Farnhambuke; but if they justified the confiscating her by colour of that, it will be then time enough to shew the illegality of their proceedings.

The States of Zealand have taken no resolution about my audience. They say, they meet again next week after Christmas; but the prince of Orange is too strong there to look for any good from them. Their deputies, who are come to the Hague on Wednesday last, are authorized, as I am informed, only to treat about the business of the Sound; how much Zealand is to pay for the ships of that province, that they may go free; and to order some other businesses about sea matters: but many other things, as well as

those of England, are not yet deliberated upon. Except the Zealanders send to me, I will not go to them, for they are none of them affected to us.

I hope, when the States of Holland meet again, which will be within a fortnight, you will give me order to press them to know what they will do, if the other province continue not to declare: for we must now fall upon that, as you see in this my last paper I have hinted. The other provinces, which are not concerned, seeing Zealand's constitution, which is so much, do not take themselves bound to move. I dare not advise any more letters to be written to them, if yours to Zealand move nothing, nor Holland's to them. If your honours think good, you may do as well as write to the Zealanders. Holland is the right hand, which, I hope, is and will be fast to you. You and Holland may so order your affairs, as Zealand will be glad to write to you: and upon that bottom, I beseech you, set your thoughts, and give me some orders and instructions against the States be here again, which will be before you can answer this letter.

The States of Holland sent for the fiscal into their assembly, and gave him charge in their presence to seize upon all the books intituled "Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Serenissimum Magnæ Brittaniæ Regem Carolum II." that were in the Hague, and have given the same charge to all the towns in Holland: and this is the greatest and most reproachful

thing which in this country can be done to any book the State disallows, and more than ever yet was done to any since I came into Holland. And Salmatius, hearing of this disgrace, was much troubled, and thought to have written to the States to forbear it: but he was assured, if he did, he was not able to effect any thing; for the resolution was taken. His name was not in the order, because it is not to the book.

The duke of Lorraine hath sent his army upon the States' borders; but they have sent to beat him out, if he will not retire. Some think some art may be in this, to intimidate the States from disbanding so great a part of their army: but they go on, and disband one hundred and five foot companies, thirty-five troops of horse. This shews a greater resolution elsewhere.

I send your honours the roll of those of the company that engage, and of those that refuse: though the refusers be more, yet the engagers are more considerable men. God assists his servants, and will not forsake you if you forsake not yourselves. I am,

Right Honourable,

Your humble servant,

WALTER STRICKLAND.

Hagh,
Dec. $\frac{23}{13}$, 1649.

I received an answer to some things in my papers last given in to the States, the 16th present, I mean of Holland, but it came to me but now at night, when I was ready to shut my packet; and being in Dutch,

I had no time to translate it. I will send it next post.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Having refreshed our men for some short time in our winter quarters, and health being pretty well recovered, we thought fit to take the field, and to attempt such things as God by his providence should lead us to upon the enemy. Our resolution was to fall into the enemy's quarters two ways: the one party, being about fifteen or sixteen troops of horse and dragoons, and about two thousand foot, were ordered to go up, by the way of Carrick, into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of colonel Reynolds, whom major-general Ireton was to follow with a reserve. I myself was to go by the way of Mayallo, over the Blackwater, towards the county of Limerick and the county of Tipperary, with about twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, and between two and three hundred foot. I began my march upon Tuesday the 29th of January from Youghall; and upon Thursday the 31st I possessed a castle, called Kilkenny, upon the edge of the county of Limerick, where I left thirty foot: from thence I marched to a strong house, belonging to sir Richard Everard, called Cloghern, who is one of the supreme council, where I left a troop of horse

and some dragoons: from thence I marched to Roghill castle, which was possessed by some Ulster foot and a party of the enemy's horse, which upon summons (I having taken the captain of horse prisoner before) was rendered to me. These places being thus possessed, give us much command, together with some other holds we have, of the White Knights and Roche's country, and of all the land from Mayallo to the Shewer side; especially by another castle, taken by my lord of Broghil, called Old-Castle-Town, since my march, which I sent to his lordship to endeavour; as also a castle of sir Edward Fitzharris, over the mountains in the county of Limerick, I having left his lordship at Mayallo, with about six or seven hundred horse and four or five hundred foot, to protect those parts and your interest in Munster, lest, whilst we were abroad, Inchiquin, whose forces lay about Limerick and the county of Kerry, should fall in behind us. His lordship drew two cannon to the foresaid castle, (which having summoned,) they refused: his lordship having bestowed about ten shot upon it, made their stomachs come down. He gave all the soldiers quarter for life, and shot all the officers (being six in number) to death.

Since the taking of these garrisons, the Irish have sent their commissioners to compound for their contribution, as far as the walls of Limerick. I marched from Roghill castle over the Shewer, with very much difficulty; and from thence to Fethard, almost

in the heart of the county of Tipperary, where was a garrison of the enemy: the town is most pleasantly seated, having a very good wall, with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortification. We came thither in the night, and indeed were very much distressed by sore and tempestuous wind and rain. After a long march, we knew not well how to dispose of ourselves; but finding an old abbey in the suburbs, and some cabins and poor houses, we got into them, and had opportunity to send them a summons. They shot at my trumpet, and would not listen to him for an hour's space: but having some officers in our party which they knew, I sent them, to let them know that we were there with a good part of the army. We shot not a shot at them; but they were very angry, and fired very earnestly upon us, telling us it was not a time of night to send a summons.

But yet, in the end, the governor was willing to send out two commissioners: I think, rather to see whether there was a force sufficient to force him, than to any other end. After almost a whole night spent in treaty, the town was delivered to me the next morning, upon terms which we usually call honourable; which I was the willinger to give, because I had little above two hundred foot, and neither ladders, nor guns, nor any thing else to force them. That night, there being about seventeen companies of the Ulster foot in Cashel, about five miles from thence, they quit it in some disorder; and the sovereign and the

aldermen since sent to me a petition, desiring that I would protect them; which I have also made a quarter.

From thence I marched towards Callar, hearing that colonel Reynolds was there with the party before mentioned. When I came thither, I found he had fallen upon the enemy's horse, and routed them, being about one hundred, with his forlorn; took my lord of Ossory's captain-lieutenant, and another lieutenant of horse, prisoners, and one of those who betrayed our garrison of Eniscorthie, whom we hanged. The enemy had possessed three castles in the town: one of them belonging to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about a hundred or a hundred and twenty men in them; which he attempted, and they, refusing conditions seasonably offered, were put all to the sword: indeed, some of your soldiers did attempt very notably in this service. I do not hear there were six men of ours lost. Butler's castle was delivered, upon conditions for all to march away, leaving their arms behind them: wherein I have placed a company of foot and a troop of horse, under the command of my lord Colvill, the place being six miles from Kilkenny.

From hence colonel Reynolds was sent with his regiment to remove a garrison of the enemy's from Knocktofer, (being the way of our communication to Ross,) which accordingly he did. We marched back, with the rest of the body, to Fethard and Cashel,

where we are now quartered, having good plenty both of horse meat and man's meat for a time; and being, indeed, we may say, even almost in the heart and bowels of the enemy, ready to attempt what God shall next direct: and blessed be his name only for this good success; and for this, that we do not find that our men are at all considerably sick upon this expedition, though indeed it hath been very blustering weather.

I had almost forgot one business: the major-general was very desirous to gain a pass over the Shewer, where indeed we had none, but by boat, or when the weather served; wherefore, on Saturday in the evening, he marched with a party of horse and foot to Arsinom, where was a bridge, and at the foot of it a strong castle; which he, about four o'clock the next morning, attempted, killed about thirteen of the enemy's out-guard, lost but two men and eight or ten wounded. The enemy yielded the place to him, and we are possessed of it, being a very considerable pass, and the nearest to our pass at Cappoquin over the Blackwater, whither we can bring guns, ammunition, or other things from Youghall, by water and over this pass, to the army.

The county of Tipperary have submitted to £1500 a month contribution, although they have six or seven of the enemy's garrisons yet upon them.

Sir, I desire the charge of England as to this war may be abated as much as may be, and as we

know you do desire, out of your care to the commonwealth; but if you expect your work to be done, (if the marching army be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented,) indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned, in the speedy reduction of Ireland. The money we raise upon the counties maintains the garrison forces, and hardly that. If the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect but to have a lingering business of it? Surely we desire not to spend a shilling of your treasury, wherein our consciences do not prompt us we serve you. We are willing to be out of our trade of war, and shall hasten (by God's assistance and grace) to the end of our work, as the labourer doth to be at his rest. This makes us bold to be earnest with you for necessary supplies: that of money is one; and there be some other things, which indeed I do not think for your service to speak of publicly, which I shall humbly represent to the council of state, wherewith I desire we may be accommodated.

Sir, The Lord, who doth all these things, gives hopes of a speedy issue to this business, and, I am persuaded, will graciously appear in it. And truly there is no fear of the strength and combination of enemies round about, nor of slanderous tongues at home; God hath hitherto fenced you against all those, to wonder and amazement: they are tokens of your

prosperity and success; only it will be good for you, and us that serve you, to fear the Lord, to fear unbelief, self-seeking confidence in an arm of flesh, and opinion of any instruments, that they are other than as dry bones.

That God be merciful in these things, and bless you, is the humble prayer of,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Castle Town,
Feb. 15, 1649 [50.]

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—According to the commands of parliament, the orders to the army for signing the Engagement were sent forth, and are returned, which I have appointed to be delivered to the clerk of the parliament. And whilst I shall have any charge or trust under you, as the Lord shall assist me, I shall endeavour faithfully to discharge it; and remain

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Feb. 19, 1649 [50.]

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MR. SPEAKER,—Divers lords, gentlemen, and others, who have had articles, and conceive that thereby they ought to enjoy the freedom of their persons and estates equally with the other subjects of this nation, and being restrained thereof by the late act for removing and confining persons, &c. have made their application to me and my council of officers, desiring that a due regard may be had to those articles; upon serious consideration whereof, they have thought fit humbly to make an address to you, which is to be offered unto the parliament by the hands of colonel Disbrowe and colonel Cox, which I desire may be considered, (being a thing wherein the honour of the parliament and army is so much concerned,) and that such course may be taken for the preservation thereof, as you, in your wisdom, shall think fit. I remain

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Queen-street,
March 16, 1649 [50.]

[S. DILLINGHAM TO MR. SANCROFT.]

SIR,—I wish myself as well able to furnish you with good news as you deserve to hear it. The in-

closed is of my usual friend's, though not his own hand: I saw him too late, else I had had more. But upon discourse with him and another intelligent gentleman, I augment it thus.

In the taking of Clonmel, you may think they paid dear. Having lain long before it, and in the mean time taken Kilkenny, much loss by sallies being sustained, an onslaught was resolved: it was done with great loss, and the town carried; but the inner trenchments, devised by the governor, a kinsman of O'Neile's, cost far dearer gaining. After all which, they were by main force cast out of all; and, with much entreaty of Cromwell, persuaded to lodge that night under the walls, that their siege might be believed not absolutely to be quitted. In the night, little powder left to defend, all was drawn away, persons and things, worth any thing.

Cromwell himself says, he doubted of getting on the soldiers next day to a fresh assault. Towards morning, a parley beat, and was gladly received; so that conditions were granted to their desires, not being above eighty defendants in all of two thousand five hundred. They were mad when they came in, and sending to pursue, cut off two hundred women and children. Since a review of their force, which consisted of all the strength they could make, their troopers dismounted to boot, near all the officers of Ireton's regiment are wanting, and you may guess shrewdly at Hercules by his foot; and the business is

at this pass, that he that undertook to have Ireland at his command so by last Michaelmas, as a child should keep it under with a rod, can't now assure his soldiers two miles from home, and promise them safe return.

The English under Ormond, upon articles, are withdrawn: he and Inchiquin, ready to be gone, (which was Cromwell's voluntary grant to them, being left out in the treaty managed by three for Ulster, Munster, and Leinster,) are staid by my lord Taffe, upon intelligence by him brought of the agreement at Breda, and enjoined to wait the doing his majesty service there. This by the best letters.

Colonel Blake writes from Portugal, that the king rather favours prince Rupert than him, and that he stands in fear of violence to his navy. Others say, upon how true grounds I know not, we have made stay of six ships of theirs, coming into harbour; and sent to the house, whether to keep them as enemies. This seems a little forward; and if we be in case to make those princes enemies, whom we suspect, it is well.

The Dutch ambassadors' address is to the Messieurs in Parliament, not to the Parliament of England. This is stuck at with offence; and the more because his business here is smelt out to be little else than a complaint of, and requiring satisfaction for, some maritime injuries sustained, and looks rather towards picking a quarrel.

Calender's[x] prohibition to continue in Scotland, argues that as yet, though their estates be granted, yet it must not be at home. The reason given of the hastiness to Montrose, is from a severity of his, upon occasion, towards those that had been of the covenant army in England, and of his own sect. Argyle misses, upon casting account, five hundred.

The English merchants in Portugal are said to disrelish the Engagement, so Blake is in worse trouble. Great complaint upon the Exchange of the loss of merchant ships: two lately miscarried; one of thirty-six guns. Case is sequestered; Jagger, they say, set free, upon the same account.

He may do them a courtesy at the state council that can resolve them, whether they had best venture upon Scotland this summer, or expect the Scots in winter: both which they are loth to, yet know not which to choose; though, in policy, to get Cromwell northward, (upon whose coming they are a little mended of the staggers.) Just at his coming to the house, a letter was read from Mr. Strickland, of the king of Scotland's intentions for that kingdom. One of themselves say, it has been carried in the negative for a march thither; yet, he thinks, intended among fewer for the affirmative; so little dare they trust themselves in public vote. It is just with us as with the English quarter-staff-man against the three

[x] Lord Calender, with others, was forbidden to go to Scotland with Charles II.

Spaniards; we know not which rapier will make first at us: there are enemies enough ready. No way to reduce the present power, but either by division, (which is very unlikely,) or by a foreign in-fall.

Yesterday, I saw the great excrement of the kingdom, that unnatural nose which is grown beyond the head, the epitome of the East Indies, one contrary to that in Erasmus; instead of casting a shadow, it illuminates the air so far about, and is the original of all new lights: a truth clearer than the sun, the shame of the moon, and the router of all the stars; yet that which somewhat abates the edge of its splendour, is the vicinity of gold and spangles wherewith he has bedaubed himself, unless happily the riches of his nose have propagated themselves thither. We may say of that, as the Jews of Og's shank bone, a man may course a game in it a whole day ere he come to the end.

Some lawyers have declared that there is no such thing yet as *Custodes libertatis Angliæ;* you shall therefore see Cromwell lord protector thereof. Fairfax, it is thought, may still be employed, if he will do any thing. This is all, which you may communicate to Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Evington, with my service.

Sir,

I am theirs, and upon all occasions your,

S. D.

Friday afternoon,
[May 1650.]
At the Golden Ball, in Gutter-lane.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—When we lay before Bristol in the year 1645, we considered the season of the year, the strength of the place, and of what importance the reducement thereof would be to the good of the commonwealth, and accordingly applied ourselves to all possible means for the accomplishment of the same; which received its answerable effect. At which time, for something considerable done in order to that end, by Humphrey Hooke, alderman of that place, (which for many reasons is desired to be concealed,) his excellency the lord general Fairfax and myself gave him an engagement, under our hands and seals, that he should be secured and protected, by the authority of the parliament, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and estate, as freely as in former times, and as any other person under the obedience of the parliament, notwithstanding any past acts of hostility, or other thing done by him, in opposition to the parliament or assistance of the enemy; which engagement, with a certificate of divers godly persons of that city, concerning the performance of his part thereof, is ready to be produced.

I understand, that lately an order is issued out to sequester him, whereby he is called to composition: I thought it meet therefore to give the honourable parliament this account, that he may be preserved from any thing of that nature; for the performance

of which, in order to the good of the commonwealth, we stand engaged in our faith and honour. I leave it to you; and remain,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

June 20, 1650.

MR. SANCROFT TO HIS BROTHER.

DEAREST BROTHER,—James Goodwin was with me on Saturday night, and was full of the story of Fresingfield: but that it was late, and he had not time to tell it, yet he forgot not how kindly you invited, and my sister inhorsed her great belly to accompany them; how liberal an entertainment; the marvels of your dairy, with the wooden looking-glasses on the shelf; and the wonders of your courtesy and my three sisters', in carrying them part of their way homeward, and the rest. But that which pleased me most of all, was to hear of all your healths and welfare, which I beg of Heaven to continue and increase. I thank God I am in health too, as I use to be here, not as with you.

The new nothing, or Presbyterian Commencement, is over: expect no part of the history of it from me; I will never be historiographer to that faction. As I look upon that cursed Puritan faction as the ruin of

the most glorious church upon earth, (in whose faith I still live and hope to die,) so I cannot but esteem this late solemnity as a piece of their triumph over us; and my just resentment will not give me leave so diligently to attend it, as to be able to give an account of it to you or any man, any otherwise than by my grief and silence.

There is no time, brother, in which I should not rejoice to see you, yet I am not sorry that you were not here to increase the crowd of their auditors.

For the time of our meeting at Bury, (which Mr. Widdrington still desires, and sends you his kind remembrance in earnest of it,) let it be when you shall appoint at the carrier's return; it is vacation with us, and all weeks, and days of the week, are indifferent to us: only do you, who have business, appoint a peremptory day, when your hay-making will give you leave, and you shall infallibly find us at the Bull at Bury, by eleven of the clock. Then I shall tell you all my condition. In the mean time, the commissioners sit this week; and what they will do, I know not. Some assure me, that Mr. Cromwell, when he was here on Saturday was sevennight, (in his passage towards the north,) told the vice-chancellor and doctors, who sneaked to the Bear to wait upon his mightiness, that there should be no further proceedings against non-subscribers; that he had desired the committee of regulation above to petition the house, in his name, that we might be no further urged. But we know

his method well enough, namely, by courteous overtures to cajole and charm all parties when he goes upon a doubtful service; and as soon as it is over to his mind, then to crush them: and that, I am confident, will be our destiny, when the Scottish affair is done to his desires and hopes.

However, I like him worse when he is stealing of hearts with Absalom, than when he is lopping of heads like John of Leyden; accounting the devil far more dangerous in the serpent than in the lion.

Whatever becomes of me, I am, brother, to you, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters with you and elsewhere,

Most affectionately loving,

W. S.

July 10, 1650.

I think I have at home two pair of plain gloves, not yet worn. I pray desire my sisters to send them, and two or three bands with cuffs to them, and my sister Margaret's letter, if it be finished. My humble service to Mr. Goodgefield, and my love to Mr. Conold and all my friends.

S. DILLINGHAM TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

Sir,—I deserve no grief of yours, nor have I so much command of my own as to retract it when I please. You know there is a double shaking of

hands: I wish it might be with us in the more favourable sense.

Construe what folly you meet in my lines as proceeding from a scurvy melancholy upon the parting with so much worth. I had wrote in Latin, but that I think the times neither deserve it nor understand it. Wheresoever I am or shall be, I will be no stranger to you: you may do as you find occasion with me. I will lay such a track for intercourse, that the slime of a snail's progress, or a highway's beating an hundred years together, shall never be more visible. Woods and caves and wildernesses are Edens to me; and had you a cell at the far side of the same forest, I should care for no more of the world. Might I sleep out the names of Presbytery and Independency, I could not choose but wake into good times.

I hear such things of Cromwell, as my Modern Intelligencer gives me little reason to believe: (if my desires were observed, you had the sight of him last week, happily not the reading.) One, in discourse about the Lord's anointed, stuck not to say, he thought Cromwell the very same. And shall that oily nose at last go for the Lord's anointed? No, we have better terms to express so much desert by. It is the saints' *minimum quoddam naturale*; a Nol with the wisp, the least spark of light that ever man saw: or take him in a more thundering way, it is error carbonadoed, the red dragon, the third great

luminary, the commonwealth's *Noli me tangere*, the original sin of all new lights. If some lusty fly durst venture upon it, and blow it to purpose, you would soon see it spawn the maggots of a thousand young heresies yet. The new commonwealth is a mere excrement blown from it: it is the golden calf which the people were about setting up when Essex was upon Edgehill; Pandora's box with a cover; that which people rather gaze at than delight in, and wherewith they are mastered, like a company of jackdaws in the night at sight of a torch; were that quenched, they would be at their nest again. It is Samson's foxes' firebrands, and all beaten together into an intolerable nose; the state's hot house, since the new act; the elephant of reformation, that can easily catch all plots against the state in his snout; the devil's breeches turned wrong side upwards, and clapped by a mischance to the General's face. But flies must not be too bold with the candle for scalding their wings: it is God knows what; and, do what I can, I must leave it the same I found it. And, sir, wherever you meet me, you shall find me the same you left me, your

S. DILLINGHAM

My service to Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Duke.

The Wald,
July 30, 1650.

SIR HENRY BLOUNT TO J. HOBART.

Worthy Cousin,—I give you many thanks for your kind letter, which, besides my great joy to hear of my friends' health, gives me occasion to present you and your lady with my most affectionate service; and likewise to let you know, that the number of your kindred and servants is a little increased in the birth of a little son of mine upon Thursday last: if he live to express his service to you as effectually as I desire he may, then you shall be very well requited for the trouble which this relation gives you.

I pray you, cousin, with this news, present my love to my cousin Bagnall and her daughters.

Our public affairs here are prosperous. The parliament has had a considerable victory at sea against a French fleet before Lisbon; and general Cromwell[y] is marched beyond Edinburgh, to join with four thousand foot and two thousand horse of his own, landed in Fife, out of Ireland. Here at London, the high court of justice proceeds against such as held secret correspondence with the Scots: they begin with one Andrews, who it is thought will suffer upon Monday. Here is no other news to present you with: wherefore I will only add a request, that you

[y] Fairfax was unwilling to make war on the Scots, and therefore resigned the command of the army. Cromwell was made commander-in-chief in his room. *Whitlocke, June* 26.

will let me know wherein I may serve you; which is the extreme desire of

Your most affectionate kinsman and servant,

HENRY BLOUNT.

Holloway,
Aug. 19, 1650.

THE DUKE OF YORK.

Extracts of letters sent by Dr. Stuart, dean of St. Paul's, to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, touching his royal highness the duke of York, as to the point of religion.[a]

Louvre, Sept. $\frac{12}{22}$, 1650.—The duke of York is very right set, and you will see a change in his servants shortly.

The queen of England will do little with him.

Bruxelles, Oct. 22, S. N. 1650.—You may, perhaps, hear his highness censured for leaving Paris as he did, but I doubt not you will think the best; and if I know the bottom of the business, it is not only defensible, but commendable, what he hath done: and he is upon excellent principles, both in point of religion and in point of service to the king, his

[a] "The originals are in the State Paper Office."

brother and sovereign, when occasion shall justly offer itself, with such commission as is requisite.

Bruxelles, Oct. $\frac{19}{29}$, 1650.—But as things now are, I shall only repeat to you, what I wrote in my last, that the duke's principles, both in matter of religion and in point of duty and service to the king, are so commendable, that I doubt not you would have been glad to have been an ear-witness of them both.

Nov. $\frac{5}{15}$, 1650.—All that I can say is this: that the duke, in this remove, hath not only done what is justifiable, but that indeed which, when all grounds are known, he deserves to be commended for. Only there is so much a secret in it, that it is better for his highness to undergo some men's censures, than to put himself to the disadvantage of undermining them. Truth will out at last, and, by the grace of God, time enough.

I beseech you, believe me to be neither of their opinion, who taught the last king of France to dishonour and despise his mother, nor yet of theirs neither, who think the fifth commandment makes a queen mother a queen regent.

Bruxelles, Dec. 8, 1650.—And, sir, for yours of November 30, wherein you write how much his highness is censured for going so often to popish service, I can only reply, that if the authors of that censure

had indeed found any thing material to object to the duke, it seems they had not spared his highness, whereas they seem to please themselves with so very a bable. The truth is, in eight weeks' space he hath been there five or six times; but he always sat incognito, where very few saw him, and where scarce any were about him but his own servants.

One of those times, he went to see three knights of the Golden Fleece, erected by the king of Spain's letters patent, which was done in mass time; and believe, the most holy of their sincerities, that most censure the duke, would not have lost such a sight. Other time he went merely to hear music; which oft-times was very good, and so was a kind of entertainment to him, having so little else in this place.

Pray God, those holy persons, who censure this so much, allow not themselves far worse kinds of recreations: but I believe you will hear of that no more.

Bruxelles, Dec. 12, 1650.—We are now, as I conceive, upon a remove towards you, so that though I might, without prejudice, be silent till I waited on you, yet since in yours of December 7th you again mention the duke's frequent going to mass, &c. and how heinous a crime it is made by those of the presbytery, I shall add thus much to what I wrote in my last. First, that I never moved his highness to go at any time. 2ndly, That I did not like his so

frequent going thither. 3rdly, That coming to the court where he was resolved to go, and having the honour to be called to go with him, I did not, nor yet think I ought not to have refused him that service; for since he would needs go, it is fit some of my coat should be about him. But, sir, he never went to those places but still one was sent before to bespeak him a private place, where he might neither give nor receive offence; which, sure, in the judgment of any prudent and impartial man, was protestation enough, that his highness came only to see and hear, but not at all to communicate in that service. And to think it unlawful to see a mass upon those terms, will, I assure myself, be affirmed by no knowing casuist. So that to call this a mortal sin, like the betraying kings, is a merry assertion, that can proceed only from great weakness or great passion; and that in such persons who would think the guilt of the mass nothing, had not his highness, in going thither, been guilty of the attendance of sir G. Radcliffe or myself.

MR. SANCROFT TO HIS BROTHER.

Dear Brother,—My last to you bore date on Monday last, and came towards you by my sizer Crosby. I promised then, if any thing of moment happened, in this little interim before the carrier went

hence, to acquaint you, and by you the rest of my dear friends, with it. It is thus much. This day, it seems, the committee here sat; and I, amongst the rest of the non-subscribers, was summoned to appear at the Bear. I went not: but by those that were there, I understand the business was to angle for more proselytes, and any that would subscribe might be received. It seems the gentlemen think that their victories resolve our cases of conscience to their advantage; and that it is but to rout the coward Scots, and all our arguments are answered. But I hope God will enable us to let them see they are deceived; and to teach them that swords and pistols, though they may overthrow kingdoms, yet alter no principles in divinity.

It is said they will give us yet a fortnight's time to come in, before they pin the door with their last and inexorable doom. For my part, as things stand in the present juncture, I fear nothing more than their indulgence; for if we should be continued here till the man[a] in the north hath done his business, and comes back triumphant, we must look for impositions of a higher nature, and under far stricter penalties. This makes me almost long to be displaced, that I may hide my head in some hole so obscure, whither our jolly conquerors may scorn to descend to seek me. In order to this design, I truss up my baggage as fast as I can, and send it towards you. To the

[a] Cromwell.

books I sent lately, I add now, by Rogers, my viol, wrapt up in a dozen of flaxen napkins, two towels, and two table-cloths of the same, with two old half shirts, and over all a carpet. Also, in a little box, my hanging watch and alarum, with lines and weights.

I pray let me hear, at the carrier's return, whether he hath brought these things safe to your hand; and whether the load of books arrived without damage.

My heartiest love and dearest affections to you, and my brother and sisters elsewhere.

I desire to approve myself to you all,

Your most affectionate loving brother,

W. St. Cr.

Sept. 13, 1650;
At nine of the clock at night.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dear Brother,—It is too long that I have intermitted this commerce of love and affection, and more than time that I resume it. The last time I wrote not, for I thought you must needs be weary of reading so often, what I was tired with writing, that I was not yet ejected, but looked not to stay long. Yet now I must return to the old repetition, and say that something once more. I was, as I told you, once again returned as a refuser by the committee here: yet some that have sought for my name

at the committee above, cannot find it; others that have inquired, write word that I am not turned out yet, though many have been, since you received my last; as Dr. Young of Jesus, Dr. Syms too of Katherine hall, and Mr. Vines of Pembroke hall, and some fellows of several colleges. Dr. Love is suspended, but not yet out; and some say there is a way found out that he shall be thought to have given satisfaction as to the Engagement, and so that he will be continued; but unless he subscribe downright, I hardly think he can escape, for many gape for his places.

On Thursday last, the committee above appointed three new masters for the void places: Mr. Lightfoot for Katherine hall; Mr. Simpson (the great Independent) for Pembroke hall; and Mr. Washington, of our college, for Jesus college. Mr. Cudworth he is leaving us, having lately been presented and now possessed of a college living, N. Cadbury in Somersetshire, voided by Dr. Whichcott's resignation, who is vice-chancellor this year. Mr. Davenport, of our college, hath again deceived us; and having stoutly denied to engage before the committee at London, when he was summoned, he hath since bethought him, and done it here; and is now, by a vote at London, restored to his fellowship, out of which he was voted upon his former refusal. Mr. Adams, I think, stands firm. And yet we despair not of keeping our places till somebody goes to complain of us, and beg them; which will certainly be done, when the

new swarm of bachelors that are to commence at Christmas shall be complete, and ready for preferment. Our friends of Trinity are out, and others in their places.

The committee sat last week here, and summoned some of St. John's college to appear at London; but I heard nothing from them. Some would persuade me, and I am somewhat prone to believe it, that I have some secret friend who doth me good offices, though I know it not. However, brother, it is comfort to me, that I am sure of a friend in you; and if the worst happen here, (which I still expect,) that I may have a retreat with you, which still you so lovingly proffer. I thank you for your readiness to entertain my pupil with myself, but I shall not make use of your kindness in that particular, if I can avoid it; for if I go hence, I desire privacy above all: only I desired to acquaint you with it, and know your mind, in case I should be importuned so as I could not civilly deny.

I am sorry my sister Margarite is leaving you: but if she goes, I could wish it were rather to a good husband than to a mistress: but we must shape our minds to our condition, whatever it be. Good brother, let me hear next time what becomes of that proposition, and when she is to go from you.

And now, brother, I have a strange piece of news to tell you: I am engaged in a lawsuit. About a fortnight since, canon Richardson, to whom we lately

paid a legacy of £100, served me and Mr. Vernon, my brother executor, with a subpœna to appear in the chancery: the business is, because we will not pay him another legacy of £60, which was given to two women; and in case they were dead, to him. Now we have often proffered him, that if he could bring us a certificate that the women are dead, or could otherwise shew us that he is able to make us a sufficient discharge, we would immediately pay him the money. But this will not serve the turn. What the law will give him, I know not. It happened very well for my case, that Mr. Vernon was, the week before, gone to live at London, in sir J. Wollaston's house, and to be minister at Highgate, so that he manageth the suit; and if I must give in an answer, I will do it to commissioners here, and not trouble myself to go to London. For the charges of the suit, I think they must be deducted from the legacy. If the court orders against us, we will pay the money into the court, who can discharge us, and so free us from any danger to pay it again, in case the women live; which is all I desire, to be safely and honestly rid of it.

I pray, brother, remember my love to my brother Heardson and my sister, and acquaint him with this business. The £10 he owes me, (as I told him when I lent it him,) is part of the £30 which I am to pay of this legacy; and as I wrote to him lately, if I be not forced to pay it, I shall not urge him; but

if it should so fall out, he must not take it ill if I call for it where I left it, rather than borrow it elsewhere. I pray also desire him to let me know what I shall do concerning Edward Barret's books.

In the mean time, brother, I would desire you to receive of Mr. Rous, of Cratfield, (to whom I pray remember me,) one pound, fourteen shillings, and eight-pence, which I have long since laid out for books for his son; and sixteen shillings and two-pence of my cousin Mear, of Cratfield, (whose humble servant I am,) for Aquinas's Sermons, which my cousin, his son, desired me to send him, and which I suppose he hath long since received.

My heartiest affections to all my brothers and sisters, in particular to my brother Jacob. I pray confer with him, and inform me what you think will remain of the last half year, all charges, ordinary and extraordinary, (you know what I mean,) being deducted. Also, what is in your hands, or in my study, which you may know of my sisters, that so I may know what strength I can make in case the decree passeth against us.

I pray, keep it altogether in readiness, that if you or I should know of any trusty messenger, it may be conveyed hither, for I would not have the carrier bring it. You see how far I am from being in capacity to pleasure Mr. Crosby, as he desired. I pray, remember my respects to him, and thank him for his loving and courteous letter; and tell him, the

business is done for the present, there being no need of his sending any money as yet for his son's use. Sir H. Wotton's Elements of Architecture, a stitched book, in 4to. in my study, I would gladly receive by the carrier, at his return, if you can readily find it.

No more, brother, at present; but all hearty and cordial affection to you and my sister from your assured loving brother,

W. S.

Nov. 17, 1650.

SAMUEL DILLINGHAM TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

Sir,—Just as the letters were closing, I remembered my engagement, and clapped up with them for company.

I know not whether I can satisfy your departing command, to inform you of considerable contingencies, if I hold myself within the limits of the university for intelligence; for so little change is made yet, that were you here, you would say we were still in the same week you left us in. The storm is not yet risen, all is quiet; and men have time to study how to shift not off, but with the subscription: so degenerated are we from all spirit and courage, which should carry us on to an unanimous opposing the stream of things, that we think it bravely done if we can make ourselves believe, by any manner of evasion,

that our consciences are kept entire, and the Engagement subscribed. This is the study of most, and some such as would have thought themselves injured not long since if such a thought had been had of them. If men can really satisfy their consciences, well and good. I fear, divers will wound themselves beyond repair. The trial is only delayed; and our terms like to begin when that at Westminster ends. The thing is in Bernard's [b] hand, who has employment there at present: so that then we may expect it, and not sooner.

You need not believe the stories of Carlisle, unless the witnesses of it agreed better. Among other reports of the business, one told me it was blown up with an earthquake. I suppose you may have heard what answer Mr. Speaker gave the Oxford interrogators: "What, (says he,) don't you understand English yet? Had *true and faithful* been in any other language, happily the most of you had not understood it; but we thought you could have understood English." They answered at a distance, that they understood English well enough, but not parliament English. You see they like to go to work roundly; and if all be true that is heard, they intend to interpret that phrase positively, which will make a greater slaughter still. Something they are about for inter-

[b] I presume that Robert Bernard, in the preceding year made judge of the Isle of Ely, is here meant. See *Whitlocke, June* 22, 1649.

pretation, and reconciliation of it with its cousin *covenant;* aye, and some say with its great enemy the oath of allegiance. I know not: they may do strange things; but if they do this, they go beyond the divinity itself.

There is another lad sick amongst us of the disease of the year.

Since you pitched upon me as a little piece of a sanctuary for your books, I have taken the hardiness to take in two more, Nollius's Physica Hermetica and Cunæus de Rupublica Hebræorum.

Sir, The confidence you put in me, in this and other cases, makes me sure I may subscribe myself (for that's the word of the times, and, if they'll interpret it so, I am for them)

Your

SAMUEL DILLINGHAM.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

SIR,—I must crave pardon for the incivility of my paper, it is such as the importunity of friends from all quarters (who tire my hands off with so often answering the same question, What we do here in relation to the Engagement?) has left me. It is a strange world amongst us: if a man had an hundred eyes, he should not see his next neighbour. What cloaks they wear at present it is no hard matter to

know: but this cold weather some have coats under, and then, upon occasion, off goes the former appearance. We shall never shew in our own colours till we come before our new lights. We are sufficiently sensible how all parts look upon us, and silently woo us, and conjure us to give a denial. God forgive us, if we set them a wrong copy. If the eye be darkness, the body's ill bestead for a guide. I always thought whither our wicked compliance with their fastings and feastings would at last plunge us, for never was any thing got by such baseness: and I should not lie if I should say, that but for this seeking to save ourselves, we had never been lost; we had never tasted these plagues, had we not so sinned. The divine hand of vengeance has thus made itself notorious in paying home our Covenant with an Engagement, where the daughter is like to be too hard for its mother; and the first beast must give up its power to the second. Happily, the wisdom of heaven knew no better way to take off that stubborn settledness upon the old covenant, than by thus violently forcing us off with this new wedge thrust betwixt the bark and tree; and, believe me, hereafter we shall see some of the swallowers think themselves a little looser from their first engagement, and look with a strange face upon mother covenant.

At present, sir, I pray that the blame of a bad pattern be not laid to our charge, lest we saddle ourselves with the guilt of the whole nation, and

vengeance ride us to ruin. I see the generality nearer and nearer every day resolved to shift, and yet cannot learn one particular resolution. Every thing would live, though it cost dear. A little time will shew whether the lion be so fierce as he is feared. If this be the doctrine of Protestants to subscribe equivocally, and with reserves quite besides the main intention of the instrument, which is clear enough to all, I will turn Jesuit, for I can never believe it lawful: it is a mere delusion and a lie. Unless happily it be deemed that the weakness of the authority urging take from the solemnity of the Engagement, and that a man may give a cross answer to a saucy companion who has nothing to do with him.

To-night, sir, I take care of your pictures: and whatever times come, I shall remember those engagements I have upon me, to shew myself a servant to your worthy name.

S. DILLINGHAM.

Dec. 11, 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—It having pleased God to take away by death colonel John Maleverer, a very useful member of this army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad widow and seven small children.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service, and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of sickness during this hard service in your field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the public service before his private relations. And (as I have been credibly informed) his losses by the royal and malignant party have been very great, being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his country for the parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

Edinburgh,
Dec. 28, 1650.

SAMUEL DILLINGHAM TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

Sir,—What we have done we know, what we shall suffer God only knows. Some have subscribed that

were never dreamed on; others quite contrary: whence I have learned not to think of men by this touchstone.

The papers inclosed were given in to the committee instead of answer, the one by the heads, the other by our own college; near akin to which are the rest of the papers given in, so that you may guess easily at the answer of most of the refusers by these two. Trinity hall swallowed it roundly, all but their divine, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Clark: whether any of these have pledged in private, is uncertain. I had censured law and conscience, two things, had I not learned from some of them afterwards, that they were of the same judgment still, and thought themselves only bound negatively, and but so long till a party should appear against the present power. Happy men that can so construe it: I have not learned so far yet.

I cannot want the charity to think Mr. Barker and all his college took it in the same sense. In him we were so far deceived, that we turned into pure anger at it; and those that did least, wondered to purpose. It can never be that he should now unravel all his former wishes and prayers, and run his thoughts absolutely counter: which he must do, if he thinks himself engaged positively; (otherwise than which I shall never be satisfied of it:) and so it was declared twice or thrice, that we were to stand engaged; for, said they, "It is no reason you should partake of the

benefit and fruit of the government, unless you engage to do your best to maintain it." If this must be the sense of it, those men are in a riddle, to me. Mr. Widdrington, More junior, and Nicholls, of that college, did the like, and indeed were the first that led: the rest of Christ's gave in a paper miserably laughed at, sir Thomas Martin swearing they offered more than the parliament required: Dr. Minshen, though he joined at first with the rest, crept at night to their lodgings, and put his hand to the parchment, his whole college ambling next day in the same step. Of St. John's, Dr. Masterson, Winterborn, Worrall, and two or three more, subscribed: so that you have already the main body, besides which, here and there a straggler fell in; Mr. Cudworth, Smith of Queen's, his emulator, Gooday, Vintner, men of all religions: yet to their sixty-six subscribers, there were nearer six hundred refusers, if they may be so called, who make account they have not yet given their final answer; and if the second woe come, a review of the work, with the punishment of non-conformers at its tail, will, in all suspicion, (and so some say already,) say a new lesson, for fear of whipping. But it may be such an opportunity they may go without, since the most submissive papers were precensured by the committee "modest refusals," who yet shewed so much favour as to receive them, and return them up.

Hotham preached a notable sermon against it, upon his principles, and threatened another this Sun-

day, but was expressly forbid; sir Thomas swearing, into the bargain, he should never preach more. If there be a new hearing before sentence, we expect few to stand the shock; the great party laying in, during this cessation, provision of arguments to satisfy themselves in what least binding sense to engage: for my part, would I subscribe, I would do it to the full intention of the urgers, otherwise I should think myself (though possibly I might please my fancy with a negative holiness) in the briars, turn things how they will; for should I neglect to act for them when a notorious opportunity offered, and thrust itself into my hands, let me be engaged in what sense I would, I see not but they may hang me for failing to their sense: for to them I am engaged, as they think I am, and intended I should engage. Besides, should the scales turn for monarchy again, I am looked upon, for aught I know, as engaged as deeply as any other man; and whatever I may say to excuse or lessen, they have my subscription against me; they have my hand; my sense they cannot see, and a man's own word will hardly be taken so late: so that I must either work out my salvation (be it spoken without ill thought) by some notable service, or all the reservations I had in my mind will not save me from the gallows.

These things, though they should not argue me to either way, yet I think I may look at them, and be thought ne'er the unwiser.

I had the good fortune to be missed last time, and it may be no worse next time, which fell thus. My brother was called, and at some distance they intended to call me; but putting us all on the title of masters, my brother answered he had been named before, whereupon the second Mr. Dillingham was fairly dashed out with the next pen: that which helped, was Mr. Adams's name being twice before. I know not how I deserved this providence, unless because I went resolved to give answer in the negative; which I shall do, if I be called again.

Mr. Sherman's carriage was gallant: who being desired by Willet, that pretends some friendship to him, not to give a flat No, but to ask more time, or the like, desired him to keep his kindness for those that desired it; for his part, he had had time enough to resolve himself, and hoped he should never be of other mind.

I do not hear of any subscribers, but the named, which engaged in Bennet lecture, now like to fall flat. One remarkable thing is, that the zeal of sir Thomas, and his manners together, took down his majesty's picture, which would have faced the subscribers, and burnt it, or at least broke it.

If I should be longer, sir, I should be tedious to you, and want time to satisfy other friends which lie at me from several parts for the news of this occurrence.

Since my last, my lord's sizer and Mr. Adams's are sick of the pox; it is thought past the worst.

As I am writing, my lord Spencer and my lord Gerhard lay me a strict charge to present their remembrance; and Mr. Ivington follows with his service.

I will not subscribe, (for that word has an ill name,) but, by your permission, underwrite myself,

Sir,

The admirer of your worth,

S. DILLINGHAM.

Eman.
Dec. 1650.

HENRY PAMAN TO MR. SANCROFT.

HONOURED TUTOR,—I am just now come my stage from Onesden to Bansfield, where I find one asking my observance to you, which I write; and so under all you have said of me, I never find more want of that wit and eloquence I might have learnt under your wing, than when I am to express my thankfulness to your remembrance of me.

I have not seen the company this morning, but I am sure I may say their service to you, and can only sin in saying less than they would themselves. Your letter, though it were very affectionate and peaceful, made much contention: for every one was ready to take out his own portion; only Mrs. Thomasin called out, not to divide the child: it is

therefore preserved, and carried sometime in one bosom, sometime in another. Much of the company nourish an ambition of seeing you at Cambridge on Monday, if nothing hinder. Mr. North and his daughter, and Mrs. Blagge and my brother, and he who shall always and in all places shew himself,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

HEN. PAMAN.

Jan. 14, 1650 [1.]

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

HONOURED TUTOR,—I was very sorry when I found you gone, and that I must call at this distance to know how you do. I received many letters this day from Bansfield, but none without your name, which made them so much the more acceptable. Mr. Moseley's business is ended so far, that it lies now only at the minister's door. In shrove week, I think it will be finished. They will get the start, I think, of the birds, who, they say, couple not till Valentine: his eve is their day, if nothing hinder. I dare not so far judge or order your occasions; but if they incline you to a return about that time, you would, I am sure, be very joyfully received.

If you come any time that week, or the next, let Bansfield be your stage, pray.

My brother has knowledge that the place with my lord of Northampton is preserved for him, and that his own occasions may determine his coming, so that now he resolved to see you, if possible.

Pray let me receive two words by the first return, to signify your health and return. Direct it to Tom Proby; and if I be at Bansfield, he will hasten it to me.

My service pray to your brother. I am,

Sir,

Your most real servant,

HEN. PAMAN.

St. John's,
Feb. 1, 1650 [1.]

C. PAMAN TO MR. SANCROFT.

SIR,—I owe you for many favours, but especially for the root from whence they all grew, your affection. By which I now entreat you to trust me with a copy of your *Clerum*, which (to comply with your modesty rather than mine own judgment, which would have it universal) I promise shall not, without your leave, be communicated any further than Mr. Ridly, who is your true friend, and a passionate lover of your worth. Sir, I earnestly beg you will not deny me. My true love to you, or rather my reverential one, which is now as due to you as to souls departed and separate,

which, taken from the contagion of their prisons, are set in that liberty which they themselves carry with them. I am,

Sir,
Your very true friend,
C. PAMAN.

Spaneshall,
March 18, 1650 [1.]

HENRY PAMAN TO MR. SANCROFT.

HONOURED TUTOR,—The news from London says your business is treated, and you are given to us now upon a surer foundation than we could possibly hope to enjoy you. For when your fellowship was asked, the petitioners were answered, that they might as well think to remove a mountain as Mr. Sancroft.

I am sorry for nothing in this turn of the scale, but that this news will not be so welcome to you as to us here. But pray, sir, be not unwilling to come amongst us again, though we be not worthy of you.

It is given out by many that you have subscribed, that it might the more powerfully prevent all malicious requests to take you from us. The breach at Bansfield is still open: the Presbyterian is got into it, and keeps it at the same distance against all lenitives. And I think it is now so far undone, that it cannot be pieced again. The gentlewoman still maintains

her ground, and shews a discretion not to be found in her years. My brother is gone to my lord of Northampton, and has left thus much affection for you as this letter speaks; and a request for your *Clerum*, I believe.

I hope to hear no more from the carrier, but that you will be here before his return.

There was much sorrow for your sickness at Bansfield. My service pray to your brother. I am,

Honoured Tutor,

Your very real servant,

HEN. PAMAN.

St. John's,
March 23, 1650 [1.]

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Since our removal from Waterford, which was occasioned in part by reason of the sickness with which it hath pleased God again to visit that place, we have continued here, where we have taken the best course we can for the present settlement of the excise and customs within the ports and garrisons under your obedience.

We have had account of the rents, sequestrations, and other profits belonging to the commonwealth, as also of the contribution paid by the respective coun-

ties since their reducement; and we find this contribution laid on the several counties so great, that it doth exceed the value of the profits that could be made of the land in the best of times; so as, in truth, where the contribution is taken, there can be no rent or other profits expected: and yet the contribution must be abated, in regard that a great part of the several counties do lie waste, without inhabitants, and much more must lie waste and be destroyed, being the harbours of the enemies and tories, where they have both shelter and relief. We have also taken an account of the great charge the commonwealth is at for your army here, and we have sent you an estimate of the charge thereof *per mensem*, which is very great; yet, in respect of the great work to be done, we do not find it counsellable at present to reduce or lessen any part of your army: but as it shall please God to bless your forces this summer, we shall not be wanting to do our duties, and hereafter to give you an account thereof.

But, for the present, having considered of the utmost there is any hopes of to be raised here till Michaelmas next, and of the supplies we expect from England, and also what you have been pleased to order for the pay of the army until the 25th of this instant March; all which being computed and relied upon, and hoped (by the blessing of God) will be made good effectively; yet we must humbly crave that you will further provide £20,000 *per mensem*

till the 29th of September next, some way to be raised in England, upon which your army and forces here may rely; and less than £20,000 *per mensem* will not carry on your service here. And as you may find an abatement at present from £33,000 *per mensem* to £20,000; so we hope God will bless the endeavours of your forces here this summer, that after the 29th of September next you shall find a further abatement of your charge here. This £20,000 *per mensem*, is to pay all the forces, both of Ulster, Munster, and Leinster. The sum you were pleased, in December last, to order for the pay of the army till this 25th of March, is £224,250; which upon the 25th of March will be then all due in arrears to the army, and must be made good in money or provisions. And we do hope, that if the supplies promised, and the said moneys, already ordered and due to the army, do come seasonably to us, together with the contributions and taxes here laid, and provision already made, as also the £20,000 *per mensem* till the 29th of September, your forces here (by the blessing of God) will be in a good measure provided for, and be the better enabled to give you a good account of the reducement of that part of this country now in the power of the enemy.

We shall again trouble you with the sad complaint for want of clothes and ammunition, and other supplies which were appointed for this army, and shipped in the ship Jonas, one Wiltshire being the commander

thereof; which was ready (as we heard) to set sail before we came from you, but is not come to us: and lately we hear the enemy do give out that ship is taken by the Scilly men; but we hope God will better provide for you and us.

It is no small trouble to us that there has been no quicker a despatch in sending of provisions, wherein your service is so much concerned; and notwithstanding the want of clothes, yet your poor naked soldiers, upon all commands, do go out most cheerfully, and have done very many great services of late, and are almost on continual duty in parties. And what hath been done by the party under the commissary-general Reynolds, you will understand by my lord deputy's relation thereof.

We shall only add, that we have, from many good hands, received information of some ships come of late to Galloway, whereby they have received both arms and money; and that in those ships there came an abbot, as an agent from the duke of Lorraine, which doth put the enemy in great hopes.

Some suspicion we find of a practice by some here, now in restraint, that have been raising men amongst the enemies and tories, under pretence for the king of Spain, yet have been contracted for by an agreement with Fortescue, an agent for the duke of Lorraine in London, and carried on by colonel Haynes, colonel Chester, and others, whom we find to have been formerly in arms against the parliament of England.

We have no more at present but to assure you we are,

Sir,

Your most humble servants,

EDM. LUDLOW.
MILES CORBETT.
JO. JONES.
JOHN WEAVER.

Kilkenny.

This day, a considerable party is gone out of this place, upon a design against colonel Fitzpatrick, who hath done much mischief here in these parts of late.

His kinsman, captain Fitzpatrick, with about thirty, were killed the last week by the lord deputy's life-guard. If the ship Jonas should miscarry, which we hope is otherwise than as represented here, you will know in what condition your army here is in for want of clothes and ammunition; and without them, or until supplies of clothes and ammunition do come, you cannot but expect your affairs here will be at a stand. And in case the said ship be still with you, we do humbly offer it to your consideration, whether it be not necessary to send that ship with a good convoy, she being of such concernment to your affairs.

LORD ARUNDEL OF TRERICE TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—Your excellency hath been formerly pleased to write in my behalf, and those other gentlemen that had articles on the rendition of Pendennis castle;[c] which articles have been affirmed by colonel Fortescue, commander-in-chief at the surrender, confirmed by the council of war, and your late predecessor, the lord general Fairfax; and concurrent therewith, was the report of the committee of parliament; but all dashed by the false and injurious certificate of one Mr. Bennet, and myself voted to pay £10,000, a sum far greater than my poor estate can raise without utter ruin; which if I undergo, I shall have just cause to complain, that I fall by trusting to the faith and honour of the soldiery: which, as I understand, is my case alone, being made good to all other. And I do the rather take this boldness on me to present you this, in regard that you and the army's honour may therein suffer as well as myself, (if I am silent at this time.) I crave nothing but justice, which, by your lordship's means, I may yet find; whereby you will preserve me and my family, which hath had the honour to have had some near relation of friendship and kindred with your noble house.

[c] See vol. i. p. 144; and Cromwell's letter hereon, post, p. 270.

I shall not further trouble your lordship. This gentleman, the bearer, can fully inform your lordship of the truth of all that is written by your lordship's

Most humble servant,

JOHN ARUNDEL, of Trerice.

Trerice,
April 2, 1651.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND AND MR. ST. JOHN TO THE COUNCIL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Yours of the 3rd of April we received the last night by an express; who being immediately to return, we can give you no other account of matters here than as they now stand.

Since our last to your lordships, of the 4th instant, we delivered in the inclosed paper to the States of Holland. In answer whereunto we have received a message from the lord Catts, president of the States of Holland, that they were in prosecution of the business, both against the prince[d] and Apsley,* in such a way as would give us satisfaction: but what they have since done against the prince, we do not

[d] Prince Edward, the palsgrave's brother. See *Whitlocke, April*, 1651.

* Apsley, a cavalier at the Hague, who sought a private interview with St. John, for the purpose of assassinating him. See *Whitlocke, ibid.*

yet know, but we expect their final resolution; for Apsley, they have done as by these papers you will see.

We thought further to inform your lordships particularly of our condition since the last. We find that the English fugitives and malignants, the French ambassador's retinue and other Frenchmen about this town, the Orange party and other loose people here, are combined together to do us mischief; and are informed, that the French ambassador himself foments the same. And besides some particular affronts and provocations in the streets, whereof, as our retinue have not given the least cause, so have they not, with any dishonour to themselves, put them up. Upon the last Lord's day, at night, these people having continued in great companies about our door for some hours, and used ill language, at last fell to blows, wounding our porter, and throwing of stones and brickbats into our house, whereof we gave the said president notice the next morning; who sent us word, that themselves had taken notice of it, and were met together to consider of a remedy. And in the afternoon, one of ours, standing at the door, being drawn upon and run at by a Frenchman, drew an engagement upon both parts: ours drove them away, and pursued them above a furlong, into a house; and thereupon a guard of the States, without any notice of ours, was sent unto our house to secure it. The same company and rabble having continued some time about the

door, did in the night assault our house; and crying "Fall on, fall on," did endeavour to break open the great gates, throwing of brickbats and stones into the house; and having continued there some hours, departed: the cause whereof, we have since heard, was, because the guards of the States of Holland were come amongst them. And the last night, some of that company beginning to do as they had done the two nights before, the guards of the States came in, and apprehended one of them: and the burgomaster of the town came to us this morning, and acquainted us therewith; and laid these disorders and tumults upon the French, excusing the Dutch, with assurances of their affections and readiness to put the orders of the States in execution for our safety: the copies of which orders we have herewith sent.

These disorders and tumults have occasioned us to make provision for the lodging of many of our gentlemen in our house for both our safeties, there having been tumults about some of their lodgings; and likewise to make provision of stable room for our horses that stood without, and to provide ourselves with arms and ammunition: in respect whereof, and the care which the guards appointed by the States do take, we hope we shall be no more troubled with such attempts.

Concerning the matters of the treaty, we can give your lordships no further account than you had from us by this last, because the great assembly hath not

sat since Easter eve, neither is it certainly known whether they will sit until the beginning of the next week.

And concerning the business of Van Trump and Scilly, we do intend this afternoon to deliver in a paper to the ordinary assembly of the States General, the other not sitting; and are resolved in that business to lose no time for your full information of their design.

We received certain information on Saturday last, that the Portugal ambassador, having sent a ship to Lisbon to give an account of his affairs here, hath, by the return of that ship, received new orders to renew the treaty with the States upon new offers, whereof no notice hath been yet by him given to the States; the reason thereof being, (as we conceive,) because the great assembly sits not.

We have herewith sent unto you De Brun's paper to the States, and a letter of Bowles out of France.

We hear that the Scots have endeavoured to get ships and ammunition from these countries; wherein, as yet, we have not publicly interposed, in respect we know little of their minds concerning the main we came about. In the mean time, we have desired all the merchants that are well affected to us to give frequent advertisements thereof to my lord General and the Generals of the fleet: and have ourselves likewise, by an express, signified the same to my lord General; and that most of them were bound for Dundee and Aberdeen.

My lords, whereas your lordships have been pleased to give us the liberty of returning to you again, when we shall find it convenient; and that therein your lordships have had respect, not only to the honour of the commonwealth, but to our safety; we are bound to return our thankful acknowledgments thereof: but concerning the business of our return, we desire your lordships would not make our concernment in that particular any motive to you so to do, because we hope that we shall not hereafter be in danger of the like inconveniencies, by reason of what both we and the States have done as aforesaid. And as for the interest of the commonwealth of England concerned in this present treaty, we have not sufficiently discovered the intentions of those here, so as to give your lordships any assurance of their intendment, which hath and shall be in our uttermost endeavour to do with speed; that so the commonwealth may have at least this fruit of our embassy, to know whether their former neutrality be all that the parliament may expect from hence. But, on the other side, in respect of the great and certain charge which the commonwealth will be put unto, by the continuance of us here in this condition until the same shall be effected, we humbly submit the same wholly to your lordships' consideration; and remain

Your lordships' most humble servants,

WAL. STRICKLAND.
OL. ST. JOHN.

Hague,
April $\frac{9}{19}$, 1651.

HUGH MORRELL TO THE SPEAKER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I conceive it my duty to give your honours account of the conference I had this day with duke De Vendome, in presenting him a placet concerning their favourable taking of our seamen of captain Hutchins's ship (lately taken by them) to serve in their king's ship, (the Sun,) on their piratical actions, as by the inclosed, which I put into French, for Mr. Solomon to communicate unto their state, which he is now about. The duke, high admiral of France, could not believe it, but instantly commanded his secretary to write for Toulon for a full information, and to release them. I shall desire a copy of said letter, to send my correspondent there. The duke then fell to my main business, our ships lately taken, how that perforce we must come to know how we shall live each by other. I told him, they were beforehand, by taking on us that were their friends. He replied, "You take our bank vessels, not in a piratical way, but on account of your injustice, or denying of justice;" and, said he, "we have a law by which we go, the covering of the enemy condemns the friend; that is, if in a ship of four hundred tons, there be three hundred and ninety-nine tons goods of friends, one ton laden for an enemy must condemn the three hundred and ninety-nine tons." To which I made him this supposition. At Leghorn, thirty merchants load for England a ship of five

hundred tons; twenty-nine have all the bales, save five or six: these are, by a man unknown to the twenty-nine, and by opening of letters, found to be for the account of a Spaniard:—Must the twenty-nine English lose all their estates? It were a most unjust and unsufferable law by any sovereign state, who are their equals, not their vassals, or subject to any such law of theirs out of their dominions.

The good man could not reply, but closed, that since he came to the admiralty I had no cause of grievance. I replied, that would appear in the three late ships, unjustly condemned because they fought justly; and two more now of late, not yet brought to judgment: I opposing condemnation, until my just and legal defences to preserve my proprietors' rights be heard. This will discover their injustice formerly done, and their intentions for time to come, peace (or war, if they could or dare.)

There is a large petition, framed by the deputies of the out-ports of France, not yet presented: it declares the great injustice done our nation, to the value of sixteen millions of livres; they beg to do us justice. When it is presented, I am promised a copy, which I shall present your honour, and, if my thoughts change not, cause a hundred to be printed and sold, if I see it conducing to the suffering of our nation by their injustice; and to ask of their statesmen to send one in a letter, to shew the compassion the people have in our merchants' sufferings. Their fear, their

losses, their stop of navigation, (not love unto us,) makes them clamour to do us justice; stopping their fishing and salt will force justice from them: if soliciting, importuning, will quicken them, they have it daily, but they are fondled with plots and strange chimeras, and so infractious, that here are no meetings of council: the royal family clash; all is confusion.

I am now at the 11th, and come from the council of the admiralty, which I attended for their result about the two last ships by them taken, having forepprepared all their ministers of state with placets, and to the queen regent also, of the injustice our merchants and nation receive by them: which I desired might receive a public debate before the king and all his council, both knowing in the laws and matters of state. After two hours sitting, the council rose. The secretary, addressing himself from the rest to me, began thus: "Sir, I am commanded by the duke, the admiral of France, to know if you have not power from the state of England to treat about the accommodating of differences?" I made him reply, that my employment was only to procure justice for those merchants interested in the seven ships and goods taken by them in the Levant seas, and in no kind to intermeddle with matters of state, being expressly forbidden by our council of state. "How shall we then compose things? The wisdom of their council know the way: the great king of Spain had directed them." "But, sir, for my two ships and goods last

taken, what result?" He replied, "It is put off to the next council." I hope my written applications do beget in them more seriousness before they resolve than formerly; though it puts me to great pains and thoughts of heart for my proprietors, how to reason them or fear them into justice by the sad posture they are in with the Spaniard and the Hollander and us, by mere injustice and denying of justice.

If I am able to read any thing in their countenances or gestures, as they rose from council, was as so many stunned, sad, and thoughtful men, sick of my plain home truths. Fain would they treat with any one empowered from our state. What seven days may produce, time will shew.

In all humility, I beg pardon for my swelling lines: my weakness cannot do it better, my breeding being but a mere merchant. I must beg pardon for one line more, and therewith a favour, but not name for whom, fearing the parliament will deny it. Leave for ten or fifteen horses. The duke must do us some act of justice, then I'll name him, if I may presume and speed. My promise is performed with the best skill I have, which I am enforced to, to gain favour, next justice; which God, in his good time, may in mercy send us from them. As in duty, I remain

Your honour's most humble servant,

HUGH MORRELL.

Paris,
April 10, 1651.

MR. SANCROFT TO HIS BROTHER.

DEAR BROTHER,—I fear my last brought you too much trouble, since I perceive the carrier delivered it not so soon as he promised me, and as was necessary for the despatch of what I desired. I shall now renew my request, that if he come not soon enough for the time I then fixed, yet that that business with my brother Jacob and J. Coly may be despatched as soon as you can conveniently, and the bills of exchange sent to me. Rogers promised me to have been here before this time, that I might have had an account of this affair; but he fails, as he useth to do.

It was just now that Crosby informed me of this opportunity of sending to you by Rob. Aldon's son, of Huntingford, and I could not let it pass without giving you this account of myself. I was troubled with a cough, the effect of a cold I got while I was with you, till the end of last week; but then renewing it, it found another resort, and became the tooth-ache; which, after some trouble, and an apostume in my gum, and a swollen face for some days, is now, I hope, upon leaving me, doing me the courtesy to carry my cough along with it. This for my health. For the rest, I received, this day sevennight, an order, of which I send you a copy in the next page: by which you will perceive, that Thursday come fortnight is like to put an end to my hopes, yet happily not to

my fears, since some of my friends would persuade me that I may outlive that date.

I thank God, I am not much solicitous in that behalf, having long since set up my rest; and so much the less, having this day received an overture of a subsistence full up to that of my fellowship, in which the employment required shall leave me too as much at liberty as I am at present.

I long impatiently, brother, to hear of you and your affairs, and of the health and welfare of all your and my friends: to all whom, I pray, present me in particular, and be assured that I am unchangeably, unfeignedly,

Your loving brother,

April 22, 1651. W. S.

"At the Committee for Reformation of the Universities.

"Upon reading the humble petition of Thomas Brainford, of Emanuel college in Cambridge, it is ordered by this committee, That the senior fellow in the said college resident, do cause notice to be left at the chamber of Mr. Sancroft, fellow of the said college, that in case he does not make it appear to this committee, on this day month peremptorily, that he has subscribed the Engagement, according to an act of parliament, this committee will, without further notice, nominate another to succeed the said Mr. Sancroft; and that such senior fellow do give an

account to this committee, on or before the time aforesaid, of the execution hereof.

M. OLDISWORTH."

April 10, 1651.

"For the Senior Fellow in Emanuel College."

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Receiving this inclosed,[f] and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith keeping, and the direction not improper to myself from the party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by what steps it hath proceeded, which this inclosed letter of the gentleman's will make manifest unto you; I make bold humbly to present the business to the parliament.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied; but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that: and this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you, and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Glasgow,
April 25, 1651.

[f] See before, p. 258.

THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA TO SIR ABRAHAM WILLIAMS.

WILLIAMS,—This day fortnight, I renewed what I writ to you a month ago, which now I do again; and that you will send out, with all speed possible, a copy of the act or warrant, I know not which to term them, that the kings, my father and my brother, gave under the great seal for those moneys they assigned to be paid me out of the customs; I mean the £1500 a month. As for that of my pension, I have the original by me, as also those acts that were made since by the parliament for £10,000 a year besides my pension, which also they did then allow; as also what I have had paid me, and what is yet due in arrears in virtue of all those acts. I pray, send them speedily, while that St. John and Strickland are here; for though they threaten to be gone, I do not believe they will.[s] Howsoever, I pray send them speedily; and shew this letter to Honywood, from

Your assured friend,

E.

The Hague,
May 8, 1651.

[s] St. John could not bring the States to the terms he wished, therefore procured his recall from the Hague. The Dutch were hereupon alarmed, and pressed him and Strickland to stay: they despatched Thurloe, St. John's secretary, to England, to know the pleasure of the parliament, who sent letters allowing the ambassadors to stay some time longer. *Whitlocke, April* 30, *May* 13, 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. Speaker,—I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of colonel Randall Clayton, who being taken prisoner when I was in Ireland, was with some other officers judged to die, as those that had formerly served the parliament, but were then partakers with the lord Inchiquin in his revolt; and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief officers, I thought meet to give him, the said colonel Randall Clayton,[h] his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his country: and, indeed, there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe he will hereafter prove an useful member unto the state, upon the best account.

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the parliament for the taking off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you to pass such a special act of favour towards him, whereby he will be engaged and enabled to improve

[h] Colonel Clayton had been tried by court martial, and sentenced to die, but was afterwards pardoned. *Whitloche, April* 1, 1650.

his interest the more vigorously in his place for the advantage of the public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tenderness. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Edinburgh,
May 10, 1651.

COLONEL HEWSON TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Being commanded by your commissioners to give you an account of your affairs in Connaught, which the Lord hath disposed of in so successful a posture as giveth cause unto your servants here to rejoice in his goodness, and great confidence of speedy despatching of the Irish wars. By command of my lord deputy, I was in the field fortifying Athy and Munster, when understanding my lord president of Connaught and commissary-general Reynolds was about Sligo, and my lord deputy drawing towards the Shannon, I did (according to my promise to the lord president) march towards Athlone, with eleven hundred foot and four hundred horse, to divert the enemy from him, (who was advanced very strong that way,) or prosecute any other opportunity Pro-

vidence should offer. When I came to Mullingar, I had intelligence that my lord president moved towards sir Robert Ring's house, which the enemy had garrisoned, and that Clanrickard advanced towards him: the governor fired the garrison, and left it. My lord president did not march forward, as they expected, but marched by them, towards the county of Galloway, before they knew of it, endeavouring to get to the Shannon to join with my lord deputy; but before he came, my lord deputy was got over the Shannon near Killaloe. When I came to Baltimore, one troop of our horse marched unto Athlone, and brought away eighty cows: and then the alarum was hot in Athlone, that their army was routed, and the lord Dillon wounded, and his son taken prisoner; but the next morning came one from Athlone, that assured me, that one father John, priest, chaplain to Dillon, came the night before from their army, and assured the lady Dillon that her husband was well, and their army was not routed: but after the priest had pacified the lady Dillon, he spake, in the hearing of the party, (that was with me,) unto sir Robert Talbot, the governor, and with a great lamentation complained they were all lost; Ireton was come over the Shannon, and joined with sir Charles Coote; and, full of grief, the priest took his beads.

The next day, my intelligencer brought me certain word, that one Kelly delivered a garrison, upon a pass about Killaloe, to my lord deputy, where his lordship

brought over his army, and engaged with a considerable party under the command of Castlehaven, and took, killed, and routed them all; and took Purtumnie, a garrison upon the Shannon. I receiving letters from your commissioners, inviting me to Dublin, marched the forces with me back to Terroghan: upon my march, I received the inclosed copy of a letter out of Connaught, agreeing with my former several intelligences. When I came to Kinegal, I received propositions from my lord Dillon concerning the surrendering of Athlone; but not approving of his proposals, I returned answers to the particulars, with tenders of some conditions in order to the delivering up that garrison for your service. Before my lord deputy was over the Shannon, the Irish was exceedingly lifted up with expectations: but now their confusions are great, every one laying the fault of others. They cry out mightily against Castlehaven for losing his party, and engaging (as they say) without orders. The enemy doth keep a pass with their army between Purtumnie and Athlone. And I hear my lord president is at Purtumnie, and my lord deputy marched to Galloway; but that is only reports: I have it not certain, though probable.

Sir, The Lord hath, doth, yea will work, and none shall let, until he perfect what he hath begun, even the establishing the mountain of holiness and habitation of justice in the earth: and that it may be found in your society, whereby you and your servants will

be in security, shall be the prayers, and is the expectation of

Your humble servant,
J. HEWSON.

Dublin,
June 9, 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Having received the inclosed petition and letter from the officers of a court of war at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the army concerning the articles of Truro, in the particular case of colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the petitioner himself having come hither into Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said articles be performed, and that the faith of the army thereupon given might be made good; I do therefore humbly desire that the parliament will please to take his case into consideration, and that his business may receive a speedy hearing, (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof,) that so justice may be done unto him, and that the faith of the army may be preserved. I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest,

Sir,
Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.

Edinburgh,
June 13, 1651

FRANCIS ROUSE[1] TO SIR HENRY VANE.

SIR,—I know you want not work, yet I hope a labour of love will not be unwelcome to you, for God's faithfulness is engaged to remember such labours. This work of love is for a saint, and I hope a saint in glory, (Mr. Pym,) who himself died a labourer in the same work.

You may please to take the case briefly thus.

The parliament granted to trustees a forfeited estate, of good value, for the payment of debts and providing portions. The trustees would have sold it for these ends, and yielded the overplus to the parliament, according to the ordinance. This they could not effect, by reason that no considerable price was to be had. Thus have they spent some years to small advantage, as to the satisfaction of the debts; the interest, suits in law, and other charges, eating up a great part of the revenue: and now of late, the commissioners of Haberdashers' hall have laid their hands upon the estate, and so the rents lie dead in the hands of tenants; and yet interest goes on, and the estate is not profitable to the commonwealth, nor to any other. But one of the trustees going about this business to Haberdashers' hall, in his return was arrested for Mr. Pym's debts; and so, I think, continues.

[1] Rouse was chosen speaker of Cromwell's first parliament, July 5, 1653. See *Whitlocke.*

That which I desire is this: that this estate may be added to those that are now put to sale; and that some four or five of the house be named as a committee, to consider what is fit to allow further toward the forementioned debts and portions, according to the true intent of the ordinance, and to reserve the rest for the commonwealth, which may be a considerable sum.

This, or any other motion which yourself shall choose, I humbly and earnestly desire you to advance; and so much the rather, that there may be some speedy end of this business, there being little hope of despatch at Haberdashers' hall, they having before them, as a lawyer of the counsel of the trustees told me, fourscore causes, when a motion was to be made for this business. Besides, as I understand, when all is done, they mean to bring it at last to the parliament; which, by the former way, may far more speedily be done.

When you have performed this, I hope it will be no grief of heart to you that you have done so good a work for the servant of a good God, in and for whose service I believe the debts were chiefly contracted.

But you shall herein resemble the prophet who supplied oil for the payment of the debts of a prophet deceased; and for me, you shall bind me still to be,

Sir,

Your faithful and thankful servant,

F. Rouse.

Acton,
June 16, 1651.

COLONEL PHILIP JONES TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FLEETWOOD.

DEAR SIR,—I hope you have received mine of the 17th, giving an account of the Cardigan rebellion, and, through mercy, the suppressing of it upon the 15th before; since when I have received the gentlemen in the inclosed list prisoners,[k] against whom there will a charge of treason be made good.

There are found among the common prisoners, considerable freeholders, who paid £10 a month assessment; and these hint the design was general, and to have been ripe this week: it is the great mercy of the Lord it is thus prevented. As Providence brings out any thing of it considerable, you shall have it.

Indeed, sir, I conceive it exceeding necessary to put these men upon a very speedy trial, and that in the Norfolk[l] manner; for a jury will do no good in that county, where little of the gospel hath yet been. I pray, sir, will you get it expedited, if the parliament intends that way.

I have likewise inclosed sent you the names of commissioners to be tendered, if it be thought convenient. Because you are a stranger to us, I have de-

[k] Thomas Lloyd, esq., captain Richard Jones, Mr. Reynold Jenkins, cornet Morgan Jenkins.

[l] By court martial.

sired Mr. Henry Herbert to confer with you further. This is all your trouble for the present from,

Sir,

Your very affectionate servant,

PHI. JONES.

Swansea,
June 19, 1651.

THE IRISH COMMISSIONERS TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—Our last gave you an account of the reducing of Athlone; since that, we have received no intelligence from Connaught, nor any other of your forces, of any concernment worth your knowledge. Last Monday, colonel Hewson, with a considerable body from hence, marched into Wicklow, the most mountainous part of Ireland, the old nest and harbour of rebels and tories in all times, and such as have proved so to us in these late wars.

The forces from Carlow and Wexford, under colonel Pretty's and colonel Cooke's command, are to march up that way also, so as there may be a communication as occasion serves; or to meet with the enemy in several parts, as they shall be dispersed. Colonel Hewson doth now intend to make use of the scythes and sickles that were sent over in 1649, but have been laid up in the stores till now: with which

they do intend to cut down the corn growing in those parts, on which the enemy is to live in winter time; and thereby, for want of bread and cattle, the tories may be left destitute of provisions, and so, forced to submit, and quit those places.

The recruits and supplies you sent over this summer have been a great refreshing to your servants here: and truly the press-men that came over hither are very good men, and we hope will be of good use; only many of them were naked, and all of them want arms, which puts us to some straits in some parts of this nation.

We are now going to Ulster, to settle your affairs there, and do expect to return about the end of this month to this place. We have not heard from you or the council of state since our coming over: we mention this, not knowing but your letters may have miscarried, through the loss of several packets cast overboard, which happened of late in these seas; and to assure you, that the commands of the parliament, whensoever or howsoever conveyed to us, shall be always duly observed by

Your most humble servants,

MILES CORBETT.
JO. JONES.
JOHN WEAVER.

July 1, 1651.

S. DILLINGHAM TO MR. SANCROFT.

Sir,—If I must not be happy in the fruition of yourself, let me not be miserable in the famine of your letters. What boots the whole troop of corns rallying into an ear, and sustained this year by as vigorous a blade, (which yet I cannot believe God has intended any other way than for a more intolerable punishment,) unless you imitate, and shock your letters into words, running upon their several lines? It was my misfortune not to find you so healthful as that we might part at a cup of wine: I wish we may meet again, though it be but in a glass of beer.

You must excuse my not taking leave of you and your chamber, for after I discovered my name out, I was as scrupulous to give offence in the college, as other whiles I have been in the town, whatever may have been discoursed by those who, it may be, persuaded me out into the world, abortive enough for any service, and in the mean time maintain their own names amongst you with less right than I might do. But I may no more speak against a Presbyterian in the college, than an Independent in the state. Something may be thought, but nothing said: perhaps others will tell you more, it is enough to me to have outlived all desire to the university; and I part as willingly with it, as I at first cheerfully embraced it.

I had no desire to see the burial of that school,

though it be already up to the neck in rubbish, (and what's Oxford then?) to which I owe what I am able to read or write. I say, God bless it: let others curse it when it needs.

Sir, My service to Mr. Holdsworth, and that gentleman in Suffolk who so often took notice of me.

I am your

July 17, 1651. S. D.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF DERBY.

My Lord,—This bearer is so well able to give your lordship an account of the condition of our affairs at the present, that I shall not at all trouble you with it in this letter; only I shall say thus much concerning our late misfortune in Fife,[m] that it is not so considerable as to hinder our march many days towards England. But I hope very shortly to have the good fortune to see your lordship there, and to give you thanks myself for the obligation I shall ever own to you, for having been pleased to express so much kindness to,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant and cousin,

Stirling, July 24. Buckingham.

[m] Lambert, on the 21st of this month of July, had totally routed the royalist forces in Fife, killing two thousand, and

THE EARL OF DERBY TO HIS SECRETARY, G. BROWNE.

My George,—I am put out of pain by Donald's coming, for we had heard sad stories, and I was doubtful of the worst. I pray God the business go well forward, for it concerns heaven and earth. My lord Galloway had written that the enemies' forces were between him and the army, and could therefore inform me little; and the boatmen reported bad things, for which I purpose some good unto them in way of correction.

I understand that Mr. Digby is at the water side near Galloway; by him I hope of some more comfortable relations. If please God that thou mayest come thyself with glad tidings, our hopes will be then completed: if you do not come yourself, be sure to write (which I hope is truth) that his majesty expects the gentlemen that are with me to accompany me till I receive his majesty's summons; at which time we may march together, in pursuance of the former resolutions. This I desire, in regard that some of them here are very impatient and doubtful concerning my commands, since Mr. Ilsley writ to sir T. Tiddesly that his best were to come to court, and that it is his friends' advice to him: indeed, I do easily believe that the good man is deceived by some that wish me

taking one thousand four hundred prisoners. See *Whitlocke, July* 28.

no good; for if those persons, who I have fixed upon, as such that may assist me in my intended services, be taken from me, I may have a melancholy time on't.

I understand that Jack Ashurst and Mr. Ilsley have both of them commands in the army, and I therefore wonder less at their persuasions of their friends to come unto them; and I am not so dull as not to know, that the party which hath engaged them would engross also all the rest. Write to me therefore very particularly, I pray, such a letter as I may shew unto the gentlemen now with me, to take off any jealousy that may possess them in this matter.

I have made my preparations to come with all speed when I am called. I thank God I shall have five hundred good fellows with me, I hope in good equipage. This you may be sure of; but your report hereof may be more or less, according to your discretion, for I see noise carries much in these days.

The common people of Scotland say (as Donald tells me) that the duke of Derby is coming with five thousand; you may also, if you will, say so in jest, till the often repeating make it so in earnest.

I have sent notice into Lancashire of my coming in with the king: now if they be deceived of that expectation, as when duke Hamilton came there without me, it may endanger some ill, as it did then.

God be thanked, all is well with us in this country,[n] though the bishop of Down bid us be sure of an enemy ere now: and I hope that such order is taken here, both in furnishing my forts and settling the militia, that an enemy will have no encouragement to come, though they know me out of the land.

I would willingly that it were made known unto the gentlemen here, that such orders as they or any of them shall receive from me, either to go with me or to stay here, as I shall appoint, will equally be resented by his majesty; and that his majesty will well receive from me such motions as I shall make to him on their behalf, when please God he be enabled to do for them: and all this the rather, because the security of this place will be a service as acceptable to him as if it were done in England.

I have sent a boat for Ireland, and a man to seek out sir Thomas Armstrong. The diurnals that have been taken by our frigates tell strange things: that my lord Clanrickard is retired to a religious house; that all is their own in that kingdom, &c. But this is very true, that Ireton had besieged Limerick, and had put over a water, near the town, at least two thousand foot and six hundred horse: they battered the walls of the town with three great guns, but their bridge brake; and my lord Castlehaven came into the

[n] The earl of Derby was at this time endeavouring to raise forces for the king in Wales.

town with a good strength of horse and foot: so they of Limerick had a good opportunity to fall on the enemy, (in a place called the Little Island,) which they did to some purpose, for they cut off the aforesaid horse and foot, and put all to the sword but what they drowned in the river.° The report goes further, but that I dare not aver for a truth, though it be believed by very many, that upon this defeat, Ireton drew all his forces together, and in a rage assaulted the old town, (so is called a village by the great town,) but was beaten off, and the townsmen had execution of them for three miles, and killed four thousand more.

I pity your condition at the sight of every good pye, and on many more occasions. God will send a time, I trust, when we shall have rest; not only in the world to come, but here a while, for a matter of forty or fifty years.

Donald comes, according to your desire, both for the time, as soon as the weather could permit, and for the *dequoy*, the sum of £20, of which you will know more particularly by other letters from Baggerly, &c. I have the greatest satisfaction of my cousin Musgrave that I can wish. He was much pleased at your letter, and I shall be no less at any thing more which you can write unto him that may

° This account is much exaggerated. Limerick, though bravely defended for several months, was surrendered to the parliament at the end of October of this year.

be in order to his desires, which you are already enough acquainted with.

My wife and daughter love their little George; so they have told

Your constant friend,

DERBY.

July 25, 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

MY LORD,—I am able to give you no more account than what you have by my last; only we have now in Fife about thirteen or fourteen thousand horse and foot. The enemy is at his old lock, and lieth in and near Stirling, where we cannot come to fight him, except he please, or we go upon too, too manifest hazards: he having very strongly laid himself, and having a very great advantage there, whither we hear he hath lately gotten great provisions of meal, and reinforcement of his strength out of the north under marquis Huntley. It is our business still to wait upon God, to shew us our way how to deal with this subtle enemy, which I hope he will. Our forces on this side the river are not very many, wherefore I have sent for colonel Rich's; and shall appoint them, with the forces under colonel Sanders, to embody close upon the borders, and to be in readiness to join with

those left on this side the Frith, or to be for the security of England, as occasion shall offer, there being little use of them where they lie, as we know.

Your soldiers begin to fall sick, through the wet weather which has lately been: it is desired therefore that the recruits of foot determined, may rather come sooner in time than usually, and may be sure to be full in numbers, according to your appointment, whereof great failing have lately been. For the way of raising them, it is wholly submitted to your pleasure; and we hearing you rather choose to send us volunteers than pressed men, shall be very glad you go that way.

Our spades are spent to a very small number: we desire, therefore, that of the five thousand tools we lately sent for, at the least three thousand of them may be spades, they wearing most away in our works, and being most useful. Our horse arms, especially our pots, are come to a very small number: it is desired we may have a thousand backs and breast, and fifteen hundred pots. We have left us in store but four hundred pair of pistols, two hundred saddles, six hundred pikes, two thousand and thirty muskets, whereof thirty snaphancies. These are our present stores: and not knowing what you have sent us by this fleet that is coming, we desire we may be considered therein. Our cheese and butter is our lowest store of victual. We were necessitated to pay the soldiery moneys now at their going over into Fife;

whereby the treasury is much exhausted, although we desire to husband it what we can.

This being the principal time of action, we desire your lordship to take a principal care that money may be supplied us with all possible speed, and these other things herewith mentioned, your affairs so necessarily requiring the same.

The castle of Ennisgarwey, which lieth in the river, almost in the midway between the north and south ferry, commonly called Queen's Ferry, was delivered to us on Thursday last: they marched away with their swords and baggage only, leaving us sixteen cannon, and all their other arms and ammunition. I remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

July 26, 1651.

HUGH SMITH TO THE EARL OF DERBY.

My Lord,—I could with much more cheerfulness have given your lordship an account of our army, had Mr. Browne[p] left us a week sooner; and now I desire it may be his task, rather than mine, to make information of what loss we have sustained[q] (since we drew into the field) by treachery, as some con-

[p] Secretary to the earl of Derby. See before, p. 284.

[q] In Fife. See before, p. 283.

ceive, or ill conduct, as none can deny. Our next undertaking will be to recover the honour and ground the enemy hath gained of us, and in order to it we shall have a speedy march into Fife: and though for the present we look backward, we shall advance with greater strength, and join with our friends in England; where, when your lordship appears, all good subjects will follow, and be so well instructed by your example, as it will not only be a means to restore the king to his rights, but likewise carry with it so great credit and reputation to your own fame, who have ever supported the crown, as, without other obligations, I were bound to acknowledge myself,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

HUGH SMITH.

July 29;
at Stirling.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—In pursuance of the providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your forces in Fife, and finding that the enemy, being masters of the pass at Stirling, could not be gotten out there without hindering his provisions at St. Johnston's; we, by general advice, thought fit to attempt St. Johnston's, knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his pass: wherefore leaving with major-general Harrison

about three thousand horse and dragoons, besides those which are with colonel Rich, colonel Sanders, and colonel Barton, upon the borders, we marched to St. Johnston's, and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us. During which time, we had some intelligence of the enemy's marching southward, though with some contradictions, as if it had not been so: but doubting it might be true, we leaving a garrison in St. Johnston's, and sending lieutenant-general Monk, with about five or six thousand, to Stirling, to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland, we marched with all possible expedition back again, and had passed our foot and many of our horse over the Forth this day, resolving to make what speed we can up to the enemy; who, in this desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, is run to try what he can do this way. I do apprehend, that if he goes for England, being some few days march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts, and may occasion some inconveniencies, of which I hope we are as deeply sensible, and have and I trust shall be as diligent to prevent as any.

And, indeed, this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart, as to God, we have done to the best of our judgments, knowing that if some issue were not put to this business it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard, in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country, and been under the endless

expense of the treasury of England in prosecuting this war.

It may be supposed we might have kept the enemy from this, by interposing between him and England: which truly I believe we might; but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding army on both sides of the river Forth, is not clear to us; or how to answer the inconveniencies aforementioned we understand not.

We pray, therefore, that seeing there is a possibility for the enemy to put you to some trouble, you would, with the same courage, (grounded upon a confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in hitherto,) you would improve the best you can such forces as you have in readiness, or may on the sudden be gathered together, to give the enemy some check until we shall be able to reach up to him; which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in. And indeed we have this comfortable experiment from the Lord, that this enemy is heart-smitten by God; and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also.

When England was much more unsteady than now, and when a much more considerable army of theirs, unfoiled, invaded you, and we had but a weak force to make resistance at Preston, upon deliberate advice

we chose rather to put ourselves between their army and Scotland; and how God succeeded, that is not well to be forgotten.

This is not out of choice on our part, but by some kind of necessity, and it is to be hoped will have the like issue, together with a hopeful end of your work: in which it is good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiencies, and hope of his presence, which only is the life of your cause.

Major-general Harrison, with the horse and dragoons under him, and colonel Rich, and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motions of the enemy, and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his march; and will be ready to be in conjunction with what forces shall gather together for this service: to whom orders have been speeded to that purpose, as this inclosed to major-general Harrison will shew.

Major-general Lambert this day marched with a very considerable body of horse up towards the enemy's rear, with the rest of the horse and nine regiments of foot, (most of them of your old foot and horse.) I am hastening up, and shall, by the Lord's help, use utmost diligence. I hope I have left a commanding force under lieutenant-general Monk in Scotland. This account I thought my duty to speed to you; and rest

Your most humble servant,

Leith,
Aug. 4, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.

MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT TO MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON.

SIR,—We are come to Leith with our foot and most of our horse, only part of our train and baggage horse are behind. We hope to march this day, with the foot and part of the train, four or five miles, and so to be jogging on as fast as we can towards England, by the way of Jedborough or Kelso. My lord hath commanded me to march away before with the horse, to trouble the enemy in the rear; and I am now ready to begin my march, and shall, I trust in the Lord, lose no time. My lord general hath commanded me to signify so much unto you, and to desire you, with all convenient speed, to march with the horse and dragoons with you towards the enemy, where you may best flank them, straiten their provisions, and do service as you see opportunities upon them. His excellency likewise desires that colonel Rich, with the seven troops, may march into your van, and lie as close, as safely as you can, for the same ends before mentioned, for stopping of any coming in unto them, and to encourage the country that the army is coming on. I intend to keep as close in the rear as I can, yet something to the left hand, so as I may be in a capacity to correspond, or join with you, as occasion requires. If it please God that we can stop victual from them, and delay their expected recruits, they are (we conceive) in a most low condition: we

verily believe the want of victual hath forced them to this course, which I hope will break them root and branch.

My lord having taken St. Johnston's, a very considerable town, has left there a very good garrison; and besides that, a force sufficient, with lieutenant-general Monk, for the taking of Stirling castle, (the town of Stirling is quitted, and I hope Monk is in it,) and keeping that hold in Scotland which the Lord hath given us.

I should enlarge further, but that this bearer, the scout-master-general, will be able to inform you more particularly.

Sir, The Lord bless your and our endeavours; which is the hope of

Your most affectionate faithful servant,

H. LAMBERT.

Leith,
Aug. 5, 1651.

MAJOR-GEN. HARRISON TO THE COMMITTEE FOR THE COUNTY OF YORK.

GENTLEMEN,—The Lord having so ordered it that our army are masters of Fife, by which the enemy gives up their expectation of Scotland for lost, they are necessitated, for want of provisions, (as to their last refuge,) to run for England, taking the opportunity of our armies being on the other side the

great river; and although there be a mighty spirit of terror from God upon them, so that they are ready to fly when none follows them, yet their large promises to their soldiers of plunder in England bears up the spirits of divers to make another adventure for it, forgetting the large testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains, that you and every good man give all diligence to improve your interests, and all possible means God may put into your hands, to give a check to this vile generation, until our army may come up, who will follow hard after them, that the good of the land may not be devoured by such caterpillars.

I have with me about three thousand horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of as God in his love and wisdom shall please to instruct me; and wherewith I hope to give the enemy some trouble, if some foot could be speedily raised to break down bridges, or stop some passes upon them. However, considering the battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to him to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy.

The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all diligence in our stations to quit ourselves as the friends of Christ against the men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn he will set his Son upon his holy hill, and they that oppose him shall be broke in pieces as

a potter's vessel. The enemies' hope is, that Englishmen will be so mad as to join with them, (seeing they have lost their credit with their own countrymen;) which we hope God will prevent in a good measure by your hands, and also lift up a standard against them: wherein not doubting your best assistance, and (much more) the loving kindness of God, I remain

Yours.

P. S. It will be very necessary that, before the approach of the enemy, all kind of horses, cattle, and provision be driven out of the way, for the better preservation of them to their owners, and disappointment of the enemy. They mount their foot upon all the horses they can get; wherefore it will be necessary the foot you raise should be also mounted to answer them, they being a flying party.

I desire to hear from you with all convenient speed, being upon my march towards Richmond, and so to lie upon the skirts of Yorkshire, if possible to get before the enemy, if they should intend by the way of Cheshire.

T. HARRISON.

Newcastle,
Aug. 6, 1651.

[THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE] TO LORD BALCARRIS.

My dear Lord,—Yesterday morning I wrote to you by the treasurer, ———, and sent you the king's declaration. I told you that his majesty wrote and invited the governor of Carlisle to his duty, but he vouchsafed no answer to the king; only he wrote to Leighton, (who, by a letter, thought to have reasoned him into obedience,) reproached him with leaving the parliament, and concluded with his own professions of loyalty to the commonwealth of England.

We passed the river yesterday, and drew up the army on this side Rokeby, where the king was proclaimed king of England by Mr. Jackson, whom the king created king-at-arms for that day and occasion, and, after the ceremony, knighted him. The army was drawn up, and Jackson, attended by the nobility of both kingdoms, after prayer, did, in name of the kingdom of England, proclaim King Charles the Second: all the trumpets sounded, drums beat, and cannon shot. The people expresses great good affections. This morning, warrants are going out towards Penrith, where we hope to be to-night.

His majesty went close to Carlisle with eighty horse. A guard of the enemy was advanced on this side the bridge; but sir W. Blackett, with twenty horse, seconded by Ross, beat in their party and

reserve, killed one, hurt some, and colonel Ogan had his horse killed. They gave us some cannon shot, but we got no hurt.

This is all I can say of public. We long to hear from you, and what is become of Oliver.

In my own business, my old commission must rule; and I must entreat you to send for Mr. Alexander Home. I hear he hath some money, and I have commanded him to bring it to you: for I would fain have one hundred or two hundred pounds sent over to my wife. If I find another occasion, I shall neglect none.

For God's sake, send to us; and, above all things, haste the levies in all Scotland, and make an army to follow us. Send for powder, and let it come to the Isle of Man, which must be our magazine.

God be with you. I am yours,

Y. Y. [LAUDERDALE.]

Darton,
Aug. 7, early, [1651.]

MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON TO THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

MY LORD,—Having lately given your lordship an account from Berwick of the several intelligences we had, confirming the king of Scots intendment for England, I forbore to give you any further trouble

therein, till (coming nearer) I might receive a more certain understanding of them.

On the 5th instant, I reached this place; where, receiving from divers hands expresses of their being near the borders, I stayed all yesterday, to get up the troops with colonel Rich, colonel Warton from about Hexham, and the ten troops following me from Scotland. I judged it also my duty, and accordingly despatched letters (whereof I have inclosed a copy) to the commissioners of parliament in the several counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Stafford, Salop, Nottingham, Derby, and the six counties of North Wales, to give them timely notice hereof, that (if it might be) some foot may be suddenly got together, in the van of the enemy, to assist the horse with me to check them, till our army might overtake them. The last night, I received divers letters from the governor of Carlisle, signifying that yesterday the enemies' army got upon English ground, and seem to intend for Lancashire. I shall not mention particulars, but have inclosed the two last letters, whereto I refer you.

I have with me about three thousand horse, whereof but four troops are dragoons: the foot, being but the two Nottingham companies, we judged (if useful to us) must be mounted as dragoons, (the enemy mounting theirs as fast as they can get horses,) otherwise they would more retard our marches than their service, when brought to it, could rationally

answer. But sir Arthur Haslerig was also of opinion, that a hasty and irregular taking up horses for them (our business giving time for no other) would more provoke the country than their service would be considerable, therefore I have left the foot behind to assist the guard at Durham; whereby having but few dragoons, and none of the foot or horse of the army being come up, and the enemy having in reputation some five or six thousand foot, and marching with a train, we shall be rationally the less able to deal with them. However, I shall make it my business to hasten up to flank them, hoping to put some trouble upon them in their march.

Just now I received an express from his excellency, signifying, that having taken in St. Johnston's, left a party of the army to make good Fife, and possess the town of Stirling, which the enemy hath quitted, he hath despatched major-general Lambert, with about three or four thousand horse, to pursue the enemy in the rear, who is already far on his march from Leith; and his excellency follows with the foot and train, with all possible expedition: so that the Lord hath now tempted out the enemy from his trenches, fastnesses, and advantages, and we doubt not but he will very speedily discomfit them, and cut this work short in righteousness.

I shall humbly offer it to you, if in this juncture I might get together four or five thousand godly men, well mounted, that you would be pleased to

make some provision for them, for a month or two: and surely this is a time wherein God doth, and I rest confident you will, own all such.

Being in very great haste, I commend you to the Lord; and remain

Your humble and faithful servant,

T. HARRISON.

Newcastle,
Aug. 7;
eleven of the clock, forenoon.

What horse and foot you can possibly spare out of the west, would be well disposed towards Glocestershire, because I apprehend Massey will endeavour all he can thitherward, though but with a party; and what you have in the midland parts, to be speeding towards Staffordshire, whereabouts I hope (at farthest) to be in with the enemy, if our Almighty Lord give not opportunity sooner, which yet I do expect.

I have inclosed the Scotch king's declaration, which is just now brought by colonel Fortescue, who came last night from them, and said, they give out they will march immediately towards London: but they see not the snare that God hath laid for them.

LORD WENTWORTH TO MR. WILLIAM CROFTS.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—I writ to you a long letter by master Sandes, by whom I also sent you an order

from the king for the payment of £500 sterling to me out of the money you got for him in Poland.[r] I did desire you, in that letter, in the first place to pay yourself out of it, and then to send me the rest, with the best speed and conveniency you could. I shall now, by this, desire you to send to my lady Lauderdale £100 sterling of that money into Holland, or to any other place she shall desire it in: I have borrowed the money here of her lord, and this is one way he hath chosen to supply his wife with such a sum of money. Mon cher cousin, I am confident you will be careful in this matter, as I shall be in any thing concerns you.

Concerning your own business, I writ to you at large in my last, and so have no more to say for the present.

For the public news, this is all. By God's grace we are come as far as Penrith in Cumberland, with a good army of fourteen or fifteen thousand foot and about six thousand horse, all absolutely at the king's command, as much as any army I ever saw under the command of his father. We are marching forward; and this morning Mr. Howard, whom the king knighted, is come over to him, with his whole troop. We have very good hopes that many others will follow. I am now in an army where our friends are together, and

[r] Mr. Crofts, afterward lord Crofts, was at this time Charles's ambassador in Poland, as appears from a subsequent letter from lord Lauderdale to his wife.

where you are many times remembered: (the times are well changed since this time twelve month.) Mon cher cousin, I am yours,

THO. WENTWORTH.

From the Leaguer, by Penrith,
Aug. 8, 1651.

My humble service to Mr. Sandes, and my old friend Mr. Wm. Denham.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO MR. CROFTS.

DEAR WILL,—The last thing I did was to drink your health, with lord Thomas, Dan. O'Neile, and Lauderdale, who are now all laughing at the ridiculousness of our condition. We have quit Scotland, being scarce able to maintain it; and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest: but we have one stout argument, despair; for we must now either stoutly fight it, or die.

All the rogues have left us, I shall not say whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his majesty are such as will not dispute his commands. Lord Thomas tells me, he will explain all this to you; so I shall tell you nothing but, what you knew before, that I am

Yours,

Penrith, 16 miles besouth
Carlisle, Aug. 8, 1651.

HAMILTON.

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE SHERIFF OF TWEEDALE.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—Finding the occasion of this bearer going to your country, I have taken this opportunity to acquaint you that the king, his army, and all your friends, are very well; and withal to put you to the trouble to send this inclosed as speedily as you can, provided it be safe. It is only private business, for no occasion hath occurred, so I can write no news. Pardon this trouble; and believe me I am, upon the old score of kindness,

Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

LAUDERDALE.

Carlton,
Aug. 8, 1651.

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LADY LAUDERDALE.

MY DEAR HEART,—I wrote unto you at length by sir William Bellenden, and gave you notice of a hundred pounds sterling, which is sent over to you by bill. I was ashamed it was so little, but I could not help it. I have now made a bargain with a noble friend of mine, my lord Wentworth, for another hundred pounds sterling to be paid to you by Mr. William Crofts, who was his majesty's ambassador in Poland.

I am sure Mr. Crofts hath all the king's money, (that he received there,) at least the far greatest part of it, in his own hand; and I am certain the king hath given a warrant to pay more money to my lord Wentworth; therefore, if this letter come safe, I do not at all doubt of the payment of the money to you.

My greatest doubt is, the safe conveying this letter to you; but I am resolved to adventure it, and some others to this purpose many ways, ere it come not. Your cousin Shonberg will inform you for certain where Mr. Crofts is, and then you are to advertise him where you will have the money paid, and he will pay the money as soon as my lord Wentworth's letter comes to his hand; this inclosed writ, directed to Mr. Crofts, which you are to be careful that it come to his hand.

I have written to my lord Balcarris, to pay punctually, to my lord Inchiquin, the hundred pounds sterling, upon sight of your order that you have received; as also, if his credit can reach so far, to send you another hundred pounds. This is all that a ruined plundered man, without an estate, can do: if I were able to provide you better, truly I should do it; and, as I wrote often, it is my greatest private trouble you should have been so ill provided.

As for news, I can tell you little. His majesty is thus far advanced into England with a very good army, able, by the blessing of God, to do his business. They are, I dare say, near double the number of

those that the king of Sweden entered Germany with, if they be not more. As soon as we came into England, his majesty was by an Englishman (whom he made king-at-arms for that day) proclaimed king of England, on the head of the army, with great acclamation of the army, and shooting off all the cannon of the army. Then, yesterday, he was proclaimed here in Penrith, and will be in all the market towns where we march. Never was an army so regular as we have been since we came into England; I dare say we have not taken the worth of a sixpence: and whatever you hear of our misfortunes in Fife, or whatever our enemies print or write, trust me this is the best Scots army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this cause with their king, have on specious pretence (most of them) left us. This is a natural purge, and will do us much good. Nothing of action yet, except the driving of some small parties, with which I will not trouble you. One thing I cannot forget: this morning, my lord Howard of Escrick's son came in to us from the enemy, with his whole troop: his majesty received him graciously, and immediately knighted him. He is the first, but I am confident few days will shew us more that will return to their duty.

This letter is to go to-night, and a great way through the enemies' quarters: it is odds of lay, if ever it come to you. I shall therefore say no more. Remember my service to your noble cousin Shonberg.

I am now ashamed to write to him, till I can tell him some extraordinary good news, which I hope shall, by the grace of God, be shortly: he may be assured none alive is more his servant than your own kindest

LAUDERDALE.

Carlton, near Penrith,
Aug. 8, 1651.

My blessing to Mary, and my service to all other friends. I have no time to write; neither is it pleasant, when it is likely others may see my letters before my friends. I am ashamed to write to Mr. Crofts myself, seeing it is when money is desired at the same time to be paid to you.

Of Cromwell's motions you will hear better from Scotland. I have also written to my lord Balcarris, to send you a copy of the king's declaration to the kingdom of England. I cannot get it sent herewith.

Superscribed "For yourself."

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO LORD BALCARRIS.

MR DEAR LORD,—I cannot neglect any occasion to let you know his majesty and his army are well, (God be praised;) never men were more hearty for all their toil; and, seriously, you would not know this army. A natural purge is wholesome, and I hope ours is such, when all the ill humours are gone. Trust

me, we have not taken the worth of a sixpence, and the country are kind to us. We might have men enough, if we could get arms: some we get. This poor place hath given in a day's bread and cheese, which is our first supply in England. We have a strong party advanced to Kendal, for more provisions; whither we are to march to-morrow, God willing. More I would write, but it is very probable my friends shall not be the first that shall see this, for it goes a way I am not sure of, and through an enemy's quarters a long way.

I shall entreat you to haste the inclosed to Holland by the first safe occasion. And if my lord Inchiquin come, and bring any bill from my wife for a hundred pounds, payable on sight, let him not want it. This is twice I have said this: more I would say of my private business, but I have no time to write; and, as I said, the conveyance is dangerous.

I shall only acquaint you, that this morning the lord Howard of Escrick's son is come in to his majesty, and with him his whole troop. His majesty received him graciously, and immediately did knight him. He is the first, but I have reason to believe he shall not be the last, ere long, that shall return to his duty. Yesterday, we had a small party, commanded by captain Inglis, of the regiment that was Riccarton's, who discovered about twenty of the enemy. He sent a corporal and six horse, who drove them before them. Then he advanced himself, alone, and only two with

him: they overtook them at a gate, which the enemy were making fast; so the enemy made haste off: but Inglis received a shot in his leg, which I hope is nothing. Upon this, and the intelligence that two thousand horse of the enemy were near, the right wing of our horse advanced very fast half way to Appleby: but finding it impossible to overtake them, seeing they were then the length of Brough, we returned; having only the advantage to get hot coats, and mine was as hot as ever in my life.

This day, to refresh our men, we rest: to-morrow we march, God willing, towards Kendal. When I know of a good occasion, I shall write again.

I shall entreat you to send to Holland, with this inclosed, a copy of the king's declaration, which I sent you: I cannot send it herewith, for taking too much room.

My service to all friends, especially my dear cousin, and her that is your wife, and mine, and make my excuse that I write not to any of them: it is impossible, for the king is a-bed, and I lie this night in his chamber; so I have time to say no more but farewell. God send us a good meeting.

Yours.

Carlton, near Penrith,
Aug. 8, late.

Let the justice-clerk direct this, and all that go to my wife into Holland, to sir Alexander Home, master householder to the princess royal, at her highness'

court in the Hague. We have not got a man of the Galloway or Nithsdale foot, so your committee must be careful of levying them.

His majesty hath commanded them not to follow him. You are slow in writing: we have not heard from you since we parted.

LORD WILLOUGHBY TO LADY WILLOUGHBY.

My dearest Friend,—I did, not above a fortnight ago, write at large to thee by the way of Holland, by my governess Cateline, the carpenter's wife, whom, upon her earnest importunity, I gave leave to go home. She performed her trust very carefully and honestly in keeping all things under her charge, but for any thing else she was loth to trouble herself. Honest Mary is all my stay now, and I hope will do as well as she can. I have entertained another coarse wench to be under her, allowing her help enough of negroes, which are the best servants in these countries, if well tutored, and cost little, only a canvas petticoat once a year, and there is no more trouble with them.

Mrs. Chavye, this bearer, who hath promised me to deliver this with her own hand, is one who challenged acquaintance of me upon your score, which caused me to give her pass for her sugar, custom free: she tells me, she waited upon you when you lay in of little Dosey. I do not remember her, nor

would not have believed her, but that she gave me such a token by naming the child. If I be deceived, if this letter come safe to you I shall not be much troubled at the cheat; for it is frequent here to have tricks put upon one of such kind.

My lord Charles Paulet's daughter, I writ to you of, proves no such thing, for she is run quite away, and, I think, out of the island, for I cannot hear of her, which makes her appear a cheat: she knowing that I had writ into England about her, made her not dare to stay a return of my letter. I did by Cateline write so large, giving thee an account of myself, and the state of the island, by some papers, acquainting thee what we had done in order to our self-preservation against that storm which was threatened us from England, by their printed declaration calling us all rebels, so as I shall touch no more upon any thing of that, only what we have further added since; which is, to make ourselves strong in men, as well as in words; and to that end have raised forces, both of horse and foot, which the country pays, and are constantly to be kept in a body to resist any forces that shall come against us. It was occasioned by Mr. Arnold, who came at the time of the assembly's meeting: he is a very honest man. By him I received two letters, and three from my children; one more which was superscribed to Mr. Rich. We had a fine passage, being but five weeks upon the way. I could wish to my heart thou hadst been with him; but

I know not how I should be so happy, though thy goodness to me, in saying thou wilt come, puts me in some comfort: for which kind resolution of thine, God in heaven reward thee. He came in a very opportune time, for the terror of his news, that so many ships were coming with men to reduce the island, stirred up the spirits of the assembly, caused them to desire me to put the island in a posture of war, occasioned the raising of horse and foot, so as we shall be very able to resist them, and send them home again, shewing them the island is not so easily to be won as they are made to imagine it. And I hope they will reward those runaway bankrupt rogues, who durst stay no longer here, for fear of a gaol, whereof learned Mr. Bayes is one; having, by their villany, done what in them lies to ruin one of the best and sweetest islands in the English possession, or in any others, except the Spaniards, with whom we hear they have made a league, offensive and defensive; and if that be their planting the gospel, I hope God will never prosper it.'

I thank God, we are all in good health and good heart, wanting nothing but those things I so long agone writ for: of which I have now so much want, as I would give double what they were worth for to have them. I might have been as much beholding to my friends as to have done me that courtesy to have fur-

' Barbadoes submitted to sir George Ayscue in the following year. See *Whitlocke, April* 24, 1652.

nished those things: I writing that it was not to be upon my particular account, any merchant would have done it; if not out of England, yet out of Holland, from whence ships come daily in to us. I sent a list to you by two conveyances, which I hope failed not; but, however, thy letters put me out of hopes of having any return of my desires in that particular.

I thank thee for having a care of my credit in Mr. Read's business, in which thou didst me a very great kindness. I am very sorry it was forced to fall upon thy particular: it was none of my meaning it should have done so; for, poor soul, to hear of the sadness of thy condition, to be brought to so low a stipend, cuts my heart: but I hope God, who hath hitherto kept us up, will still preserve us, and though cruel men may rob, oppress, and steal away what I have, yet I shall find a way to live: and since they began so deeply with me, as to take away all at one clap, and without any cause given on my part, I am resolved not to sit down a loser, and be content to see thee, my children, and self ruined.[t]

There was wont reparation to be allowed to those that were injured by the contrary party: and being it is in my own power to help myself, shall I not do it, but sit still, like an ass, seeing the meat torn out of

[t] Lord Willoughby of Parham had been a zealous supporter of the parliament at the beginning of the war, but afterwards, going over to the king, was impeached, and suffered confiscation of all his property.

thine and my children's mouths? No! I will not do it; and therefore, dear heart, let me entreat thee to leave off thy persuasions to submit to them, who, so unjustly, so wickedly, have ruined thee and me and mine.

If ever they get the island, it shall cost them more than it is worth before they have it. And be not frighted with their power and success: God is above all.

There is an inclosed note, directed "the Gentleman," which I am confident, if you will, you may make use of, praying you not to omit the opportunity. I shall send him as much in sugar, when I hear from you that you have made use of this. Be not frightened nor perplexed for me; I am confident yet God will bring us together into these parts, according to my former petitions to him, that we may end our days together in happiness: for I have had a return of my discovery of Guiana, which I writ to you formerly of; and the gentleman which I sent hath brought with him to me, two of the Indian kings, having spoke with divers of them, who are all willing to receive our nation, and that we shall settle amongst them: for which end I am sending hence a hundred men to take possession, and doubt not but in a few years to have many thousands there.

It is commended, by all that went, for the sweetest place that ever was seen: delicate rivers, brave land, fine timber. They were out almost five months;

and, amongst forty persons, not one of them had so much as their head ache. They commend the air to be so pure, and the water so good, as they had never such stomachs in their lives, eating five times a day plenty of fish and fowl, partridges and pheasants innumerable: brave savanas, where you may, in coach or on horseback, ride thirty or forty miles.

God bless me into life. And if England will be a friend, or that we make them so by tiring them out, either their seamen by the tedious voyages, or the state by the great expense they must be at, which I am very confident we shall, being all so well resolved to stand by one another to the last man, then I shall make thee a brave being there: for since all is gone at home, it is time to provide elsewhere for a being.

I am very much troubled for honest Jo. Ward, that he should suffer so much for his honesty and kindness to me. Pray you send for him, and commend my kind love to him; and tell him, that if he will come to me, he shall never want as long as I have it.

Though God is at present pleased to afflict us, and that justly for my sins, yet so long as he gives us health, let us not despair, but do our best; for who knows what a day may bring forth? Do thy best where thou art, playing thy game as well as thou canst, and I will do the like here; and when the fleet shall return, and the gentlemen see how they are abused,

you may perchance find them more charitable, at least in a more calm humour to be spoke with.

One comfort we have, they can neither starve us with cold, nor famish us for hunger; and why should they think so easily to put us to it then? If a qualm should come, I thank God I have some of thy cordial water left still; but I thank my God, I never was more healthy nor better in my life. I want nothing but thy sweet company: that would make time short, and all things easy to me. When once this expected storm is over, and this place settled, so as no more trouble may disquiet it, then shall I with all violence pursue thee with my humble suit and desire for thy company. God keep thee in health. Pull up a good heart, and yet all may be well.

I have no tokens to send my poor children for their kind letters. Mr. Arnold commends Will much; and relates a great deal of discourse he had with him one day, when you were from home. My best of blessings to them all.

For Mrs. Betty, if there be such an inclination in the young lord you mention, let not the present want of portion discourage. I have known unhandsomer than she married as well for nothing; but I shall hope, however, in a few years, to be able to give a portion, though as yet it goes out apace.

As for Frank, I hope you will be careful for her health, in preventing what you fear. What I mentioned to you concerning my lord Callender, be not

so averse, out of an opinion of our too much good fellowship; for he is a noble lord, and an honest man. I had a letter lately from him, and he is resolved to come and plant in these parts of the world.

This inclosed engagement I sent by another conveyance, and renew it again, because I would have it with you, to satisfy your fear of my being delivered up. God but preserve thee, and I cannot do amiss. Farewell, my dearest joy.

The account Mr. Knowles gives me, by his letter, concerning the improvement of Will in his learning, is a great comfort to me; but the consideration of the loss of it again by his leaving of him is as great a cross. He expresseth to me, that because you could not continue his allowance to him, is the cause of his leaving him: if that be all, I should not doubt but, by God's blessing, I may be able to procure that, and shall spare it out of my own belly, if you can procure him to come to you again upon any reasonable terms; for I fear change of masters may do by him as it did by me. Prythee, dear heart, let me hear from thee. If there be any hopes of getting him to thee again, I will strain hard to procure means for the good of my boy.

When you have read this letter, pray you seal it, and convey it to my lo— by my brother; to whom I forbear to write, because I will not endanger him more than I have.

[From Barbadoes.]

LADY HENRIETTE MARIE STANLEY (THE EARL OF DERBY'S DAUGHTER) TO SIR THOMAS TILSLEY.

Sir,—Not a minute since, as I was passing the bridge, I met with your letter, and do not a little admire your goodness, when I consider so great an indisposition was not capable to divert you from so troublesome an employment. Nothing can please me better than to hear from you my lord's gallant resolutions: they are so well seconded by you, and the rest of the noble persons with him, that I do not doubt of a happy success in all your enterprises, though the wind is so unmercifully cruel. I am just now told it begins to be fair, which makes me believe this will not reach you, and that I have in some part acquitted myself of what I owe you, without exposing to your view the absurdities of

Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

Henriette Marie Stanley.

Aug. 11, 1651.

My lady commands me to assure you of her service. Mine, I beseech you, sir, to colonel Roscarrock and Mr. Tilsley Sandes. Let the first know that I am sorry that any of my concernments should give him the least trouble; wherefore I desire him to forget the book, and only remember how much I am his servant.

COL. ROGER WHITLEY TO SIR P. MUSGRAVE.

Sir,—My lord Wilmot entreated me to present you with his service, and to acquaint you, how that the resolution of sending this despatch to my lord Derby was taken so late this evening at the rendezvous, that his lordship had neither time, place, paper, or ink to write to you, otherwise you should have heard from him. But he earnestly entreats you, (if my lord Derby come not instantly over,) that you and sir Thomas Tildsley would come over with all possible speed: it is also the king's desire, and the suit of all our friends.

God be praised, our condition is good and hopeful. The countries seem very ready to rise, and bring in provisions willingly: they are hugely satisfied with the good and severe discipline of our army. I assure you, no complaints of rapine, spoil, or disorder: a flock of geese may feed all night in our camp, and not one missed in the morning. And this is a most serious happy truth, which gives a most comfortable taste of his majesty's good government.

Sir, I am overwatched and weary, so that I shall only make the protestation of being, Sir,

Your most humble faithful servant,

Ro. Whitley.

Sir, Your lady is well.

Lodge,
Aug. 12, 1651; twelve at night.

THE EARL OF DERBY TO SIR T. TILDSLEY.

THOM.—I have received several letters from you this day; to them all, I have had the best intent that could be to give satisfaction to those desires, which were so reasonable, and fitting for the present service.

I knew but at seven of the clock this evening that there was need of a boat hence for our horses. I sent you word, nevertheless, that you might expect one to-morrow morning, but I reckoned too fast; nevertheless it shall come, God willing, at the noon tide, and the new galliot with it.

All this evening we have been casting forth coal, and still they are at work; and because of the great haste of her coming, so much shall be left thereof as may serve for ballast; the rigging of the sails, and many other lets, make that she cannot possibly be ready this night. In my opinion, Cottrell's vessel might have some of my horses, and some other invention for the transport of the men: but of that you will consider.

Baggerley did desire our Dutchman, or one Dopson, to set a plank into the John: but the first must go in the galliot, else it must stay; and I assure you it will be, God willing, of better use than our Manx boats for landing men. The other is sick in bed; so of him I need not say more. George Joyner is, I hope, as capable as either of them, and him I send;

and will want of no care or pains that may advance the present service.

I have looked into my store, and find a mistake of your opinion concerning the arms, for we have not so many fired as you think, and divers of them we have must go into St. Bryde and St. Andrew's parish, in the stead of others which were lately taken from them. And I would not have any excuse among this people, as that they could not defend their country by reason I had disarmed them to fit myself elsewhere. Nevertheless, I will send twenty musquets, twenty-four pikes, and two barrels of powder, which, when I have told you all, may be thought as much as could well be spared.

I shall expect to hear from you to-morrow morning. If please God that all be ready, we may make use of this wind.

My hearty service to yourself, and the gentlemen. Believe me very faithfully

Your assured servant,

DERBY.

Aug. 12, 1651.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

THOM.—So I call you, lest I offend you. Since my wife and I commanded our dear daughter to be our secretary, I have observed the wind to turn fair,

at least as I think; however, I desire that all things may be in readiness, that in case so great a blessing come to us, that we make good use thereof.

If my horses be come up to Douglas, and the vessel, it will be necessary to ship all again immediately. If you do this, let me hear from you presently; and nothing shall hinder me, God willing, to haste unto you, and ever be

Your faithful friend and servant,

DERBY.

Castle Ruthin,
Aug. 12, 1651.

My little vessel will be ready this tide. The great prize vessel, which I was in hope to have taken for my horses, is not in case.

MAJOR-GENERAL MASSEY TO THE EARL OF DERBY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—My journey towards Manchester this day, by reason of the enemy's horse, a regiment of colonel Lilburne's, last night quartered about Middleton, and those parts near Manchester, hath not yet been so satisfactory as I hoped, by reason of that danger I might run, by pursuing my intention, in observancy to your lord-

ship's commands, that I could not speak with those gentlemen; but have sent unto them to give colonel Ashurst and me a meeting this evening.

Some of my horse met with some of the enemy's horse, weary and tired: some of those horses my troop have got; and by one prisoner, a lieutenant, we took letters from him, wrote by one captain Nicholas Rigby, whose place and person I understand is known to sir Thomas Tildsley, who writeth he intended to be at his house this night. His letter is dated from Newborne, four miles from Newcastle, the 13th present; and saith, the next day they were to march nine regiments of foot and three of horse, with ammunition and artillery. He complains much that their foot are much lessened by each day's march; and their horse, I may add, are like to fare little better.

And truly, my lord, had I not in consideration the long march my horse are to march after, or to overtake his majesty's army, that I durst not further harass my horses, I should not leave the wearied ones to pass Manchester so quietly; and therefore, if your lordship think meet, I would beg a good strong party of your lordship's horse may be sent out towards Manchester this night, and doubtless they may take many horses and prisoners from the enemy; and might be assistant to me, that with more freedom I may converse with such as may render my service of advantage and use to your lordship, and fit me to

answer your lordship's commands; which will ever find me, my very good lord,

Your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

EDW. MASSEY.

I am with my troop, that they may have some rest now, at Catished Green, five miles distant from Warrington, this 19th of August, at four of the clock in the afternoon.

COLONEL ROBERT STAPYLTON TO CAPTAIN BISHOP.[u]

I received yesterday two of yours: the one by Mr. Cadwell, the other by Robin. I hinted to you in my last, that we had taken the pass over Severn at Upton bridge. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, with his brigade of horse and foot, lies there, and is ready to enterprise any design upon the enemy on that side, as opportunity shall be offered. We know not as yet which way the enemy will draw: our intelligence tells us that he is yet at Worcester, and in the parts adjacent on the other side Severn.

We are this morning advancing towards Worcester, and I suppose we shall draw very close to it. If they will come forth, and engage with us, then we shall leave the issue to the providence of God, and doubt not but to parley of glorious mercies. If they will avoid fighting, and lead us a jaunt, we shall

[u] Secretary to the close committee of the council of state.

do as God shall direct. Let us live under the exercises of faith and prayer. In disputing the bridge, yesterday, at Upton, we killed some six or seven of their men, and killed his horse that led the party, and wounded him in his hand. Some say, it was Massey.[x]

The news from Leicester is excellently glorious: the relation whereof you have heard fully from lieutenant Turner. I have no more to say, but salutes to all friends.

I am,

Most assuredly yours to serve you,

RO. STAPYLTON.

Spetchley, within two miles of Worcester,
Aug. 20, 1651.

MR. CLARKE TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—On this day sennight, we perfected our platforms for batteries and for two mortar-pieces, brought up from Leith for the reducing Stirling castle.

The enemy shot through and through our batteries, but did not hurt any of our men: they played

[x] "A servant of Massey's came into Cromwell's quarters, and reported, that the wants of the king's army were very great; that his master was shot in the hand, and the earl of Worcester wounded in the mouth." *Whitlocke, Sept.* 3.

hard against our men that were in the steeple of the town kirk, (which did much annoy them:) they shot through the steeple; but in all their shots hurt but one man. Two mortar-pieces were drawn to the platforms this evening.

All things being in readiness to go roundly to work with the castle, the lieutenant-general sent a summons to the castle, requiring him to deliver the same for the use of the parliament of England. To which the governor returned a verbal answer, that he would keep the castle as long as he could. The lieutenant-general also sent about exchange of prisoners for some of ours he had in the castle; but, it seems, he would exchange none, in hopes to make terms by them. Colonel Pinchbanke, an Englishman, and one of the colonels that colonel Blake gave passes to, to come from Scilly into Scotland, kissed the king's hand; went as far as Glasgow with him towards England, but is come back hither, declaring much disaffection and dissatisfaction to the enemy's design, and says he will not join any more with them. Wednesday, the two mortar-pieces were planted; and Mr. Fane, the engineer, (who was sent for from St. Johnston's for that purpose,) made two shot with each of them for trial; two of which fell and brake in the middle of the castle.

Thursday the 14th, both guns and mortar-pieces played hard against the castle. We made two of their guns unserviceable: they hurt us two gunners with

small shot. In the afternoon, while our mortar-pieces were playing hard, they in the castle beat a parley: which being hearkened unto, they sent out a drummer, with a letter intimating desire of a treaty. The lieutenant-general sent in a letter, wherein he took notice of the governor's slighting his first summons, but proposed three articles to him, which he would grant, if he would render forthwith, otherwise he would not accept of any treaty.

Hereupon, about half an hour after, the governor sent out captain James Cunningham and one Mr. Wright, as commissioners to treat: but the records of Scotland (which the governor desired might be removed to some other garrison of theirs) being denied them, Mr. Wright said his commission was blown up, and could not treat; so that by night the articles inclosed were agreed on, and hostages sent forth.

The occasion of their more hasty surrender was from a mutiny of the soldiers in the castle: who being a commanded party of their army, and most Highlanders, (not accustomed to granadoes,) were much affrighted, and beat the drum without order, threatening to throw over their officers if they should disturb them; saying, they would fight for their king and kingdom, and not for the country's gear.

The next day, the governor, with about three hundred officers and soldiers, marched forth, according to agreement. The soldiers had, the night before, broken open many of the trunks in the castle, and went away

laden with as much gear as they could carry. There was in the castle forty pieces of ordnance; viz. twenty-seven very fair brass pieces, two great iron guns, and eleven leather guns; provision of meat to serve five hundred men above twelve months; forty or fifty barrels of beef, about five thousand arms, (new musquets and pikes,) twenty-six barrels of powder, twenty or thirty vessels of claret wine and strong waters; great store of match, with other ammunition, lances, swans' feathers, darts, and other instruments of war of that nature; all the records of Scotland, the chair and cloth of state, the sword, and other rich furniture of the king's; the earl of Marr's coronet and stirrups of gold, with his parliament robes. There was also store of goods of the country and towns people in the castle, which they had liberty to carry away, according to articles, and came in great numbers for three or four days together, little or nothing being embezzled, but what had been taken away by their own men. We had released, awhile before our entrance, thirty-two prisoners; amongst which, Mr. Cornelius Van Behmen, engineer, lieutenant Jones, and others taken at Newark.

Thus hath God, in less than a week's space, nay, less than a day's space, (for we did not play so long with our guns and mortar-pieces,) given into your hands one of the strongest and most magnificent castles in Scotland, and the most (if not only) considerable pass into the country beyond it. When we

came before it, a query was made, Who shall lead us into this strong castle? It was answered, The righteous shall possess the gates of their enemies: and certainly the mercy is not the less for being gained with so little loss, but the greater, and is a pledge of what he will do for those that are now likely to be engaged in England. Since my coming into the castle, (which is one of the fairest and stateliest buildings I have seen in Scotland,) I observed this motto over the chapel door: "I. R. nobis hæc invicta miserunt centum sex proavi, 1617." It seems, it past the 107th unconquered, but not the 108th.

Sir, This was the substance of what I wrote to your honour in a former letter, which, as I now hear, was interrupted going from Leith with the packet near Trenant by one captain Hume, a moss troop. I have adventured to trouble you with these particulars a second time, not knowing whether you may have them from other hands or no.

Since the former, colonel Okey is returned with his party who went into the west. He took the laird Osbastan, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Henderson, and others, who were sitting at Paisley for the raising of a regiment, to be under the command of colonel Cockram, whom the king had sent out of England for that purpose, though he had before promised it to major-general Vanrosse: they were both in that town the day before, but got away, with the lord Blanda's troop, into the Highlands.

He fined the town of Glasgow £500 for aiding them; and apprehended sixteen ministers, which he let go, upon promise not to act against us.

We are now providing for a march, with our little handful of two regiments of horse and two of foot, towards Dundee. We shall lodge all our field-pieces in this garrison, (where colonel Rede with his regiment is left,) and march with three battering-pieces and one mortar-piece, not doubting of the continuance of the good hand of God with us. Sir, I crave your pardon for this boldness; and rest

Your most humble servant,

Wm. Clarke.

Stirling,
Aug. 19, 1651.

Sir, I have an humble request to your honour, that in case the Scots records be thought fit to be continued here, and any employed to be keepers of them, I may be thought of as to that particular: which I only submit unto your consideration, not as seeking any thing to myself but what Providence shall freely order.

When our convoy had brought those that marched out of the castle of Stirling as far as St. Johnston's, they all went to their several homes, except about seven score.

MR. BROWNE (SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF DERBY) TO LIEUT.-COL. ASHURST.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ASHURST,—My lord gave me command to let you know, that as yet his lordship hath not sent abroad those letters, (concerning which you and I had some discourse,) by reason there is a party of the enemy (as we hear) come to Wigan, and we do not yet understand what numbers, or who they are. Our intelligence (which is not altogether certain) speaks him to be Lilburne, and his design to beat us up. We are in readiness to entertain him.

My lord wishes you to be careful of yourself, so soon as we can look about, and judge of the coast whether it be clear or not, and then fix upon a day. My lord will immediately desire a meeting from those gentlemen in the manner you proposed. I have nothing more to say for the present, save that I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

GEORGE BROWNE.

Friday morning,
Aug 22, 1651.

THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE GENTLEMEN OF LANCASHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—By reason of the king's speedy march through this county, there could not pass those

mutual assurances of grace and friendship betwixt you, which I am most confident a short stay in these parts would have happily produced.

It was my good fortune to attend his majesty in Cheshire: and there having the honour to receive his commands, in order to the service of this county, he was pleased to direct that I should invite you to join with me in the present work; wherein the glory of God, his majesty's personal safety and rights, the laws of our nation, our own liberties and estates, are also nearly concerned.

To this end, his majesty was pleased to employ major-general Massey as a proper instrument to beget a fair understanding betwixt us; who, being acquainted with the intentions and interests of both parties, hath endeavoured it, I hope with some measure of success: though, by reason of his majesty's speedy advance, and a necessity of his own march, he did not bring it to that complete issue which he desired.

I have now, therefore, thought good to desire you to come unto me as soon as possibly you can: and be assured that you shall find me resolved to give such a reasonable measure of satisfaction to your moderate and just desires, as shall leave you altogether without excuse, in case you engage not with me in the present service.

For my own part, I will endeavour to follow the example of my master, and be far from reflecting upon any differences which heretofore have passed

betwixt us, but really desire the memory of them may be for ever buried. I do heartily forgive all that have injured me, and desire the like from such who suppose themselves injured by me; to the end that all impediments may be removed, which might in any kind hinder our unanimous and cheerful conjunction in his majesty's service. If it please God to put the like thoughts into you, as I hope he will, I doubt not but he will make us considerable instruments in this glorious work: in which you will have daily experience of my real intentions to manifest myself

Your very affectionate friend,

DERBY.

A LETTER FROM GLOCESTER TO THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Upon Thursday last, in the space of twelve hours, we had three several letters from major-general Harrison, advising and encouraging us to resist the enemy, in case they should advance to us at Worcester. Whereupon we came to resolution, to hazard our lives in the keeping of the city, and did what we could to strengthen the walls: and the well affected in the city and county came in to us, willingly engaging themselves; and are in expectation of assistance from the major-general, ac-

cording to his promises. But upon Thursday, late at night, there came a message from the mayor and sheriff of Worcester, and some others, signifying to us that they had a desire to confer with colonel James and the commissioners concerning the peaceable entry of the enemy into the city; and, accordingly, a meeting was had. At which meeting, the mayor, sheriff, and others of the chamber, made a high declaration of their dislike of our proceedings in order to the keeping of the town, and of their resolution of delivering the town to the king: which was opposed only by alderman Ellins, major Estoph, and captain Alies of the chamber; and that they would not be undone by making resistance in satisfying the wills of three or four men. Whereupon there arose a great discouragement amongst the citizens that had listed themselves volunteers; and, as we are informed, they were taken off, some by threats, and some by promise of rewards. The officers met, and consulted what was best to be done: and considering the falling off of the city, and that assistance came not in, nor yet the troops from the major-general, it was thought best to do what we could to secure what persons and goods of the well affected we might in that short time, as also to prevent the enemy of the magazine; which was endeavoured, as such a scantling of time would permit.

Upon Friday morning early, which was yesterday, four troops came in from the major-general, and al-

though our listed soldiers and horse were much scattered, yet colonel James did what possibly he could to rally them: and so we fell to our works again, with a full resolution to stand it out; but yesterday, there coming no assistance of foot from Hereford, or elsewhere, whither the major-general had writ for supply of foot, which was only necessary and extremely wanting for this service, it was concluded by the general officers that we should quit the town. Whereupon order was given to captain Boyleston and his company to secure the magazine, consisting of seven small firkins, or thereabouts. And whilst he was in the execution of this order, and we horsed, the alarum came that the enemy was entering the city upon the rear of our horse; and we marched away, after some repulse given to the enemy.

But the night before, upon Thursday night, we sent forth a party to beat up their quarters at Bewdley, where we killed two quartermasters, and took four prisoners; who, upon examination, confessed that they were not resolved to stay at Worcester, but to hasten to London.

Thus much we thought good to represent to your honour; and humbly take leave to be

Your lordship's humble servants,

Geo. Milward.	Andrew Yarranton.
Rich. Inett.	Simon Moore.
Wm. Collins.	Gervasse Bucke.

Glocester,
Aug. 23, 1651.

COLONEL ROBERT LILBURNE TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—Upon the receipt of your orders to stay here with my regiment, I marched that day from Stockport to this town, which was twenty-two miles, before I rested, hearing the enemy was here, and thinking I might have a little surprised them, but they were gone to Chorley. The next day, I marched after them, towards Preston, and lay within two miles of them, only with my own regiment and about sixty horse and dragoons, which is all the country could assist us with all this while, (saving only one company from Manchester of foot, and two from Chester, which have been with me two days.) That night, I sent forty horse to alarm them, (who then wounded colonel Veare,) hearing they were to have had a rendezvous at Preston that next day. I did that to give notice to the town and country I was there to oppose the earl, and to stay the people from rising with him, who reported it, that none of our forces was in the country; and indeed the country believe all was their own, which the people generally took for granted, and was coming in apace, as by these inclosed you may perceive.

The next day, in the afternoon, I having no foot with me, a party of the enemy's horse fell smartly amongst us, where our horse was grazing, and for some space put us pretty hard to it: but at last it

pleased the Lord to strengthen us, that we put them to the flight, and pursued them to Ribble bridge, (this was something like our business at Mussleburg,) and killed and took about thirty prisoners, most officers and gentlemen, with the loss of two men that died next morning. Hearing of your excellency's regiment coming towards Manchester, I only removed two miles to a more convenient ground, thinking to have stayed there till your regiment could come, which I expected this day, but their weariness frustrated that expectation; and this morning, I had intelligence that the enemy was upon their march, which I thought was a running away from us, being they began at eleven in the night, and marched so fast and privately: but their confidence was much otherwise raised, having increased their number at Preston, and that engagement of the priests and Manchesterians (who are very malignant) to assist them with five hundred men and arms, and the hopes they had of surprising your excellency's regiment, put them into great heart, that when we appeared here, (thinking we had been, as it were, pursuing a flying enemy,) they shewed a great deal of courage by a mighty shout they gave beyond the town in sight of us, in the way towards Manchester; which we observing, together with the advantage they had of us in these grounds, and hearing their numbers of foot was much increased, and the danger your regiment was in, put us upon new thoughts, when they

were at one end of the town and we at the other, and resolved rather to decline engaging with them here, than hazard the loss of your regiment, and put ourselves upon an engagement upon too much disadvantage. They exceeding us much in foot, and we having no grounds to fight our horse upon, we were drawing off, (thinking to have marched in the flanks of them towards Manchester, to have gained a conjunction with our friends there; but they seeing it, presently drew through the town to fall upon us: which we observing, and being so near to them, resolved to trust God with the issue, and he was graciously pleased to give us a comfortable success, to the praise of his great name, in a total rout of our enemies, who were increased to about fourteen or fifteen hundred, and I had only my own regiment, and those three companies of foot and the sixty horse and dragoons. The dispute lasted almost an hour, and very difficult to us, they overlaying us so with foot, (having no ground but the lane to fight in,) the same place where your regiment beat up Hambleton's rear, but at last God gave us the day; and I desire that he alone may have the praise for that great salvation he shewed to us, a company of poor creatures.

As for the particulars, I cannot yet give a very exact account to your excellency, but only that the lord Derby is sore hurt, but escaped, though narrowly; the lord Witherington and colonel sir Wil-

liam Throgmorton dying, and Tildesley and Baynton slain; and several other very considerable persons of great quality, and about sixty soldiers: and we have taken most of their colours, and about four hundred prisoners.

I thank God, I lost not one officer, nor above ten soldiers, that I can hear of, but many horses killed and spoiled with their pikes, which I hope your excellency will be pleased to consider and repair. The country begins now to bring in prisoners, and shew themselves to me; but before, but a few appeared. The enemy's word was Jesus, and their signal a white about their arm. Our word was Providence, and signal, the green. I am,

My Lord,

Your excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

RT. LILBURNE.

Wigan,
Aug. 25, 1651;
late in the evening.

COLONEL ROBERT LILBURNE TO THE SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER,—My lord general being pleased to command me to stay here, to assist the well affected against the earl of Derby, who was then at Warrington in this county, with some considerable force, both from the Isle of Man, and which he had

from the Scots' army; wherewith he did not only much encourage the enemies, but also discourage all the well affected in these counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and whereof he thought himself wholly master, as indeed he was, and none in those counties were able or durst appear against him; and began to beat drums and raise men in all places where he came, and would have been very strong in a short time, not only through the access of many malignants, papists and disaffected persons, but that assistance the ministers and those who are called Presbyterians afforded, and would have more abundantly appeared: for they are the men who are grown here more bitter and envious against you, than others of the old cavaliers' stamp.

The power of the Almighty was very much seen in the total overthrow (I hope) of that wicked design, which was laid and hatched not only here, but through the whole north of England, who was getting into the like posture, as you may further understand by those papers I have here sent you. But that God, who hath all along appeared with us and for us, hath shewed himself very good and powerful in the dissipating of this enemy, who was about fourteen or fifteen hundred strong. I had only three companies of foot, about fifty or sixty dragoons, and about thirty horse from Liverpool, with my own wearied and somewhat shattered regiment, through our tedious march from Scotland, and hard duty we had here.

Yesterday morning, about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, the enemy marched from Preston, we lying within two or three miles of them, where we expected those supplies of forces which came not. Some of our intelligence informing us the enemy were running away towards their army with what they had gotten, we pursued them hither, with some confidence that that intelligence was true; and the rather we believed it, because of some discouragement we put upon them the day before: but upon our approach hither, we found it otherwise, for they were bending their course towards Manchester; where they had not only very great hopes of surprising my lord general's regiment of foot, but also great assurance of the assistance of five hundred men in and about that town. But upon the sight of our near approach, they unexpectedly put themselves into a posture of fighting with us, which then we endeavoured to decline, in regard of the great advantage they had by their many foot and hedges, and the danger we apprehended my lord general's regiment of foot at Manchester to be in. We were drawing off, thinking to have marched in the left flank of them, thither to have gained a conjunction with our friends, who had order to march to me that day towards Preston. We had thought to have met them in the way, having sent several messengers to let them know both the enemies' and our motion: but the enemy, perceiving us to draw off, quickly advanced upon us

with their horse and foot: which we perceiving, and that we could not go off safely enough, we fell to dispute with them, which lasted almost one hour. Our horse being not able to do any service but in lanes, and they overpowering us so much in foot, made the business very difficult, that we hardly knew whose the day would be for so long; but therein was the salvation of God the more seen, and the great opportunity we had to destroy them. I desire that he may have the praise and glory of that happy success he was pleased to give unto us, his poor creatures.

Having given you this narrative in general, which I thought it my duty to do, this inclosed list will inform you further of the particulars. I desire the Lord would teach us to walk in some way answerable to those manifold and gracious dispensations he daily gives us experience of, and manifests his love unto us in, that his name may be magnified in all we do in our several places and stations. This great mercy to us here, I hope is the earnest of his further tenderness to the great concernments of all good people in this nation; which is the hearty desire of

Your faithful and most humble servant to my power,

RT. LILBURNE.

Wigan,
Aug. 25, 1651.

This bearer was all the while in the engagement, and is able to give you a fuller relation.

I have not lost an officer in this engagement, but

one corporal, and not above ten soldiers slain, but very many wounded.

LIEUT.-GEN. MONK TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On Sunday last, we got over the river Tay, close by St. Johnston's, with our horse and foot, but with very much difficulty, our horses being forced to swim over the river; and on Tuesday last we came before Dundee, and laid siege at it. I sent in a summons to the governor, for to surrender us the town, together with all the appurtenances that belong to war; and withal promising him good conditions for his officers and soldiers, and likewise for the inhabitants: but the governor returned a very uncivil answer,[y] a copy of which I have inclosed sent your excellency.

Yesterday, we got intelligence that general Lesley, with the committee of estates, together with some lords and gentlemen of quality, were to meet with some forces within twelve miles of us: and within

[y] They sent in answer the king's proclamation: "That whosoever would lay down arms, and come in to them, should have mercy." "This impudence of theirs was occasioned by the promise of old Lesley, earl of Leven, with divers other lords and ministers commissioned from the king to raise forces, whereby he would relieve the town." *Whitlocke, Sept.* 4. It is worthy of remark, that Whitlocke's words are taken from a letter from colonel Lidcott to the speaker, inserted hereafter.

one day's time longer they would have gotten together a very considerable party. They did intend to have raised the siege. Whereupon I ordered colonel Alured, with six hundred horse and four troops of dragoons, to march last night to Ellitt in Perth, where I got intelligence they were.

And it pleased God so to bless and prosper our designs, that they got to the place where those lords were, without any discovery: they killed some upon the place, and took prisoners those whose names I have inclosed sent your excellency. Truly, it is a very great mercy which the Lord of Hosts hath been pleased to bestow upon us, observing the time and season. This is the Lord's work, and therefore he alone ought to have all the praise: he hath not been wanting to follow us with mercies continually, had we the hearts to give him the praise that is due unto him. I have this night sent out another party, to meet with those levies which those lords were going to meet. I hope the Lord will bless their enterprises with success. And after this party is routed, I believe I shall not be troubled with any more levies, while I am about the reducing of this town, which I hope will be within these two days.

I humbly desire your excellency would be pleased to send down some more horse and foot; for what the garrisons will take up, and what of sickness, which is very brief amongst us, we have at this time thirty of a troop sick: whereby we are very weak, and I

shall have no considerable strength to keep down the country people, who are very apt to rise, upon any occasion, almost in every place.

I have sent your excellency some papers inclosed, which I met with upon my march. I shall likewise desire your excellency, if it stands with your excellency's liking, to send down a commission for colonel Morgan to be colonel of the dragoons; likewise a commission for captain Boone, who was formerly captain-lieutenant to my own company, to be captain of the foot company in my regiment, where captain Rose, deceased, was captain; and a commission for Wm. Powell, formerly ensign to my company, to be captain-lieutenant; and also a commission for one Mr. Francis Kelly to be ensign to my company.

Having nothing else at present to trouble your excellency with, only desiring the Lord of Hosts still to guide and direct your excellency in the carrying on of that great work which he is pleased to honour you with, I most humbly take leave; and remain

Your excellency's most humble servant,

GEORGE MONK.

From the Leaguer before Dundee,
Aug. 28, 1651.

COL. R. STAPYLTON TO CAPT. GEO. BISHOP.

According to your desires, and frequent iterations, I had ordered the despatch of the messenger this

morning; but, by the mistake of the secretary, it was prevented. I shall hereafter be punctual to observe your desires.

This day, we drew down with our army in the face of Worcester, but they did not vouchsafe to meet us with their army. Some small pickerings there was, and poppings of musqueteers behind the hedges, but nothing considerable was attempted. They have raised a very fair and large fort on this side the town, which they possess and man very strongly. They have burnt many outhouses. And I spoke with the scout's assistant just now; who tells me, that his intelligence assures him, that their whole army is in the town, and in the parts about on the other side the river: all which gives me to believe, that they are resolved to adventure their all in this place. It concerns us to be careful and advised in our attempts; and I trust God will lead us for the best.

It is said that colonel John Birch, formerly of the horse, is with them: some say he was taken; but others think it is only a colour to palliate his intentions: but I cannot give you any certainty of this. Salutes to all. I am

Yours,

Ro. Stapylton.

Spetchley,
Aug. 29;
nine at night.

HENRY NORTH [TO MR. SANCROFT.]

Sir,—If I were ever guilty of any thing like ambition, it hath been to be in some value and esteem with good and discreet men; and upon that score it is that, ever since I had the honour to know you, I have designed to do something that might merit your good opinion: but I now perceive you are a person of too great worth for me to gain upon by any weak endeavours of mine own; for you have been pleased freely, of your own accord, to place me in the rank of your favourites, when nothing that I have ever done could invite you to reflect upon me.

Sir, I have received the two books you sent me: and for the Septuagint, and the binding of the other, have desired Mr. Paman to repay you what you have disbursed; for it is sufficient that I have taken a thing so precious out of your library as is the Casine Bible, which I hope I shall as much value, as I am sure you must needs want it. I shall ere long get the Septuagint new bound also, for it very well deserves it; being, I think, one of the best impressions that ever I saw.

I should now, if I had time, though I know it is a thing would not much please you, be satirical, and inveigh against those malignant spirits that have deprived the university of so excellent a member; but all I will say to you is, to let you know that I hope to be so good a chemist as to extract out of their

venom some cordial to myself; and that your delightful company, being denied your best associates, may be the oftener afforded to,

Sir,

Your most real friend and servant,

Bansfield, Aug. 29, 1651. HENRY NORTH.

COLONEL LIDCOTT TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I could not choose but acquaint you with the blessing of God upon our proceedings here in Scotland. Since Stirling castle was taken in, lieutenant-general Monk marched to Dundee, for the reducing of that place; who, when he had planted himself conveniently before the town, summoned it. The enemy, in answer to his summons, sent him a proclamation from their king to this effect; that whosoever amongst them would lay down arms, and come in to them, should be received to mercy. This impudence of theirs was occasioned by the promise of old Lesley, or Leven, with divers other lords and ministers commissioned from their king to raise forces, whereby he would relieve the town. Private intelligence being given of their place of rendezvous, about seven miles from Dundee, colonel Alured, with his regiment (and two troops) of dragoons, surprised old Lesley, earl Leven, lord Crayford, lord Ogleby, six or seven of their principal ministers, with three hundred more,

whereof divers were of quality and eminence; by which means you will, I am confident, have a good account of Dundee speedily: which is a rich town, and hath in the harbour forty or fifty sail of ships.

These and other late successes will, I hope, extort thankfulness from us to the God of our mercies and consolations; which is all at present from

Your obliged nephew,

C. LIDCOTT.

Leith,
August 30.

These lords and prisoners were taken on Thursday about noon.

LIEUT.-GEN. MONK TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—Since it hath pleased the Lord to bestow upon us the mercy of the taking of the lords, a copy of their names I sent you in my last, we have by storm taken the town of Dundee: there was in it about eight hundred soldiers, besides the townsmen. We lost in the storming about six officers and about twenty private soldiers. It was a very great mercy that there was no more killed, in respect of the disadvantage we met withal, and of the numbers which we were to deal with, they being as many in foot as we were. There was killed of the enemy about five hundred; and two hundred, or thereabouts, taken prisoners: the go-

vernor was killed. Sixty sail of ships in the harbour, and about forty iron guns in and about the town. The stubbornness of the people enforced the soldiers to plunder the town.

I humbly desire to know, whether it be your excellency's pleasure that this place be fortified otherwise than it is: it will not be tenable unless, without a great deal of charges.

St. Andrews is come in, whom I ordered to pay £500 for refusing the first summons; and, I believe, a town called Montrose will likewise come in upon summons, which place I intend to make it our winter quarters. Truly, my lord, I know not what I shall be able to do, only for want of more forces, being so weakened, by reason of sickness, that I march not above twelve hundred foot, and in case it be your excellency's pleasure that this place be made a garrison, I conceive, I must almost leave all the foot in it. I humbly refer this to your excellency's consideration: and withal I humbly beg your lordship not to be unmindful in the sending of some more forces; and that likewise there be care taken in the sending down of more biscuit and cheese to Leith. So, desiring the Lord to protect you in all your proceedings, I humbly take leave; and remain,

My Lord,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

GEORGE MONK.

Dundee,
Sept. 1, 1651.

THOMAS SCOTT AND R. SALWAY* TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—We cannot refrain to let you know that God hath this day most eminently appeared for you, upon the very spot of ground where the first engagement was in England, in Wyck field, near Powick, where colonel Sandys, and many others that appeared so early for England's liberty, was slain; the voice of whose blood cried, and had audience in heaven this day, as your enemies have felt: nor was it forgotten that on the 3rd September last was Dunbar fight. Our difficulties were exceeding great, being constrained to patch up two bridges over the two rivers, for the two armies respectively to scramble over, that they might come at them who were prepossessed of the passes and the ground; and when the enemy saw we pressed so hard upon him, having drawn out no more than needs on the north side the river to engage us there, drew out his main body at same instant, in the heat of that engagement, and marched up to what remained of ours on this side, where was not above the third part of our forces, and many foot of your new, who had their share in battle and in victory; specially the Cheshire, who did most gallantly.

The lord general, when, after a very hot dispute on the east side the river, betwixt horse and foot,

* Members of the council of state.

had routed all they had, though upon very ill inclosed grounds, threw a summons, by a soldier, to their royal foot to surrender to him; which they denying, and shooting at the messenger, our foot most resolutely ran into it, and possessed it in a moment, and despatched the enemy there: and his excellency commanded some of the Essex colours to be presently set up in that fort, and the enemies' guns turned upon them.

Lieutenant-general Fleetwood marched up, with four regiments of horse, and pursued as far as Cotherydge: but the greatest number, in the dusk of the evening, ran away at the north gate, towards Bewdley; whither Providence led us to send one thousand horse and dragoons, under the command of Barton and Mercer, yesterday; and unto whom, in the midst of the battle, we endeavoured to give intelligence, and trust it came to them.

Major-general Harrison is gone, with a considerable party, in the pursuit, and we believe will reach them; and the Lord will, we hope, guide colonel Lilburne to meet them. We trust, from Dundee to this place, every creature will rise up against them, and doubt not that you will omit any time to give notice and availment thereto.

God is with you, and will be, whilst you are with him. Your servants here, from the General to the poorest soldier, expressed that courage and cheerfulness that is unspeakable, rejoicing to spend spirits

and blood in your service, for the interest of the state and prosperity of this commonwealth. It is impossible, in this moment, to give the particulars: the bearer will add what he knows. We are

Your most humble servants,

THO. SCOTT.

R. SALWAY.

At his Excellency's quarters, near Worcester,
ten at night, Wednesday, Sept. 3, 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3rd of September, (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland,) we built a bridge of boats over Severn, between it and Tame, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Tame, within pistol shot of our other bridge. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood and major-general Deane marched from Upton, on the south-west side of Severn, up to Powick town, which was a pass the enemy kept. We passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the lieutenant-general's forces: we beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, till we beat him into Worcester. The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side the town, all but what

he lost, and made a very considerable fight with us for three hours' space; but, in the end, we beat him totally, and pursued him up to his royal fort, which we took, and indeed have beaten his whole army. When we took the fort, we turned his own guns upon him.

The enemy hath had great loss, and certainly is scattered and run several ways: we are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up. Indeed, this hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen. Both your old forces and those new raised have behaved themselves with very great courage; and he that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you.

The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone his doing.

I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account: in the mean time I hope you will pardon,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Near Worcester
Sept. 3, 1651;
ten at night.

MR. G. DOWNING* TO LORD ———.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—The Lord is still triumphing. This day last year was the great appearance at Dunbar, and this day again the Lord hath disposed for such a work.

This morning, lieutenant-general Fleetwood advanced with his horse and foot, to which were added captain Goffe's and major-general Deane's regiments of foot, (major-general Deane being himself with him,) and lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Twisleton's regiment of horse. Between one and two this afternoon, he got to Powick bridge, upon Tame, which was kept by them, with horse and foot: the dispute began very hot presently; they brought up the river with them twenty great boats, with planks. My lord general fell presently to work; and in half an hour, one bridge was made over Severn, and another over Tame, just where both rivers run into one, and forthwith a party of foot ran down over the bridge over Severn; who began on the side of Tame towards Worcester to skirmish. While lieutenant-general Fleetwood was hot still in dispute with the enemy at Powick bridge, then captain Ingoldsby's and captain Fairfax's regiment were drawn over Severn also; then twenty horse; then the life-guard; then my lord general's regiment of horse; and so, one

* Afterwards sent agent to Holland. I find no other account of him. See *Whitlocke, June* 28, 1659.

party after another. The dispute was from hedge to hedge, and very hot; sometimes more with foot than with horse and foot. The life-guard made a gallant charge, so did my lord general's regiment of horse; and, indeed, all who came to it did their parts gallantly, through the Lord's power in and upon them. The dispute continued to the evening, all along with very great heat; and about sun-set, we had beaten into Worcester, and our men possessed of St. John's, at the bridge end.

While we were thus hot in debate, the enemy drew forth horse and foot on the other side the town towards our men, who were left there; and after a while there was a very desperate charge on that side also, between them and ours, both horse and foot, where was colonel Pride.

In conclusion, our men there also put them to the rout, and pursued them to the very town, possessed the great fort, and also that part of the city of Worcester. Truly our work is all wonders. I can inform your lordship but little what is done, only that, so far as my eyes could on the hurry take up, there are more slain than were at Dunbar: as for prisoners, I cannot tell what number, (they being not yet brought together,) nor who are taken; only major-general Petscotty and captain Ardrosse and captain Cronlockes are taken, with many others: it is thought Massey is killed. Of our side, I know none of note killed but quartermaster-general Moseley; and, as far

as yet I can judge, not an hundred of our private soldiery. Our word was "the Lord of Hosts." In the evening, we could see them fly out of the further side of Worcester, horse and foot. Night cuts off our pursuit, but major-general Harrison is sent after them, and notice given to colonel Lilburne and others. Captain Howard is wounded; major-general Lambert's horse shot. Your lordship will I hope pardon my hasty scribbling. We long for the appearance of the day; when we also look for the Lord's further approvance. I am,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

G. DOWNING.

Near Worcester,
Sept. 3, 1651;
nine at night.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this commonwealth and for his people, and yet I am unwilling to be silent; but, according to my duty, shall represent it to you as it comes to hand.

This battle was fought with various successes for some hours, but still hopeful on your part, and in the end became an absolute victory; and so full an one, as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army, a possession of the town, (our men entering at the enemies' heels, and fighting with them in the streets

with very great courage,) and of all their baggage and artillery.

What the slain are I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many, and must needs be so, because the dispute was long and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of very great quality: duke Hamilton, the earl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen; I hear, the earl of Lauderdale, many officers of great quality, and some that will be fit subjects of your justice. We have sent very considerable parties after the flying enemy. I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit; indeed, I hear the country riseth upon them every where, and I believe the forces that lay, through Providence, at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with colonel Lilburne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return.

A more particular account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. I hear, they had not many more than one thousand horse in their body that fled, and I believe you have near four thousand forces following, and interposing between them and home. What fish they will catch, time will declare.[b]

[b] This letter is printed in Whitlocke, with the exception of this last expression: in the margin is written, "Omit this."

Their army was about sixteen thousand strong, and fought ours on the Worcester side of Severn, almost with their whole; whilst we had engaged about half our army on the other side, but with parties of theirs.

Indeed it was a stiff business, yet I do not think we lost two hundred men. Your new raised forces did perform singular good service; for which they deserve a very high estimation and acknowledgment, as also for their willingness thereunto, forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs. They are all despatched home again: which, I hope, will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the country; which is a great fruit of the successes.

The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts: it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy; surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of him who hath done his will for it and for the nation; whose good pleasure it is to establish the nation and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work.

I am bold humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and

wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation: but that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority, and all people, so prospered and blessed and witnessed unto, humble and faithful; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you, as a thankful return to our gracious God. This shall be the prayer of,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Worcester,
Sept. 4, 1651.

Your officers behaved themselves with much honour in this service; and the person who is the bearer hereof was equal, in the performance of his duty, to most that served you that day.

T. SCOTT AND R. SALWAY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

MY LORDS,—This day, about two o'clock, lieutenant-general Fleetwood and major-general Deane brought up the army with them from Upton; and boats, with materials for making bridges, to bring that army over the Tame, and for a communication of the General's army with that, at a point where both rivers meet. There was a very hot dispute on that side of Severn where the lieutenant-general's force came,

from hedge to hedge, and lane to lane; but the greatest stress was about Powick bridge, where they had not only lined the hedges with musqueteers, but were possessed also of a house.

Although the enemy maintained their ground very resolutely, yet it pleased the Lord to give our men that courage as to draw them from hedge to hedge, &c., till they were beaten up to their main body, that stood in Wickfield; where the first blood was shed in this cause by the late king, and where Sandys was slain; and upon that same day twelvemonth, (viz. 3rd of September,) in which God gave us that memorable success, against the same enemy, at Dunbar; that in the morning, this in the evening of that day: wherein, truly, the new regiments performed very gallant service; the Essex regiment (that, but the day before, were so amazed at the shot from the cannon, that some of them fell flat on their faces) being the first that gained, and set up their colours in the royal fort. We cannot yet give you any certain particulars of the enemies' loss, though we were spectators from beginning to end; which yet, as to the slain, in most men's judgment, much exceeded as to horse, if not to foot, that at Dunbar; nor ours, which certainly, through the rich grace and mercy of God, was not much.

We hear of no persons of quality slain, but quartermaster-general Moseley, a captain in colonel Cobbett's regiment; captain Howard of Naward, captain

of the life guards to his excellency, has received divers sore wounds, and major Pocher, but both with hope of life; and some few others. Captain Howard did interpose very happily at a place of much danger, where he gave the enemy (though with his personal smarts) a very seasonable check, when our foot, for want of horse, were hard put to it.

The major-general Lambert had his horse shot under him. Colonel Piscotty, that was reported slain at Fife, is taken, and some others; but their quality or numbers we can say nothing of as yet.

Our word was "the Lord of Hosts;" but the army was so suddenly engaged, that it is believed not a third part of it had it. Many of the enemies' hosts, after the defeat, both horse and foot, were observed to run out of the north gate towards Bewdley, pursued by commissary-general Whaley, where we have a strong party of horse and foot in their way at Bewdley, and Lilburne in their way, we hope.

My lord general was the first that set foot on the enemies' ground, and went up on foot to the hedges, while they were lined by the enemy. The Cheshire regiments did singular good service. That the Lord of Hosts, the author of our mercies, may be exalted above all praise, (whose arm was made bare,) and the mercy improved, is the earnest desire of

Your humble servants,

THO. SCOTT.
R. SALWAY.

We desire this may not be printed; or, if it be judged necessary to be made public, that it may be digested into a better frame.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MONK TO THE SPEAKER.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Your letter of thanks, which you were pleased to honour me with and the rest of the officers here, for that great mercy which the Lord was pleased to bestow upon us in the taking of Stirling castle with our weak forces, which we acknowledge to be a very great honour, I desire that all the glory may be returned to him who hath been pleased so eminently to appear for us. There hath something of action been done since the reducing of that castle, wherein the Lord hath been very good and gracious to us; the news (I conceive) will come to your hands before this letter. The Lord is pleased still to follow us with mercies and great deliverances.

I thought it likewise convenient to acquaint you with our present condition. We are very weak, both in horse and foot, in respect of the sickness which hath been very brief amongst us; and unless there be care taken in the sending down of some more forces, I shall be necessitated to lie still and do nothing, whereas otherwise there might have been something very considerable done before the end of this sum-

mer. I shall humbly desire you not to be unmindful of the present condition we are in. I shall likewise desire you that there may be care taken in the sending down of some provisions of biscuit and cheese for the forces here. They have not had any money since my lord general went out of Scotland, neither dare I to give them, there being so little in the treasury, as that all will but only serve to pay sick soldiers, making of works, and other contingent charges. I most humbly take leave; and remain

Your most humble servant,

GEORGE MONK.

Dundee,
Sept. 4, 1651.

W. CLARKE TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—The success of the English forces at Dundee appears yet, every day, more considerable. I have sent inclosed a list of such prisoners of quality as are yet discovered, many of them being concealed as private soldiers. There were fifteen hundred upon the line when we stormed;[c] and now we come to bury the dead, (which is not yet fully done,) we find that there was near eight hundred killed. The spoil is like to prove very great; were you here, you would not

[c] Monk had taken Dundee by storm on the first of September.

know a private soldier from an officer, divers of them having got gallant apparel.

Though we are not yet settled here, yet this little wee bit of an army will not be idle. If you send us more men, (and some money, too, for encouragement,) we doubt not but (through God's assistance) we shall do much before winter, and get footing six score miles further into the Highlands. This day, a strong party of horse is sent to Montrose, a port town about twenty-four miles hence; by whom the lieutenant-general hath sent a summons, having intelligence that the enemy were preparing to garrison the town. Some gentlemen of quality hereabouts have sent their submissions to the power of the parliament of England, and seem to be free, both as to contribution and assistance; yet we shall not trust them further than we see them. And I am

Your most humble servant,

WM. CLARKE.

Dundee,
Sept. 5, 1651.

MR. SANCROFT TO MR. HOLDSWORTH.

Papæ! what a 'pistle have we here! from a very friend too, so long absent, so far distant! A letter I may call it, with a safe conscience, and never be beholden to the English idiom: nor could I write Latin, and tell true; *accepi literas* would be in my way.

First, I dare boldly say, an entire third of the niggardly quarter of a sheet runs out in margin and waste, like an unconscionable broad list that almost eats up a narrow Kendal cloth; arrant desert and wilderness, like Craven, on the other side of Yorkshire; only there you enter Mr. Hebblethwaite, like one of the old hermits (in his rags, if not in his sanctity) to make legs for handsome entertainment, just upon the same design as our modern geographers paint some uncouth sea monster, or savage of the land, to fill up the vacancy of their maps; or as carpenters and freemasons still furnish out the prize with grotesques and antick faces. But then, to come to the body of the letter, what a high forehead! 'tis thus far in your paper to the first line. I began to conjecture that you left space for your picture and a paper of verses before your discourse; or meant again to erect Friar Bacon's head there, that should speak two words, "Dear Sir," and never speak more.

But courage! You have hitherto bit your pen and bethought you; now it begins to walk, but such short turns as I have seen you take in my bed chamber when you had newly made a jest. The first of your three periods sits thus: "But that I desire to be a man of my word, I had never put pen to paper." Say you so? I may hap to commend you then, as just and punctual to your promise, but never thank you as kind or pitiful to your desolate friend. In your next, you take upon you to be persuaded, "that your

Yorkshire heaven stands still;" and why, I pray? The argument is mighty and convincing, "because you are so sluggish." It seems there is such a sympathy and correspondence between the heavens and your heavenly self, that they stir not, when you, the great intelligence, are dull, but keep holiday in a vigorous rest.

Your next, is a "wonder that the stars produce so much motion below, (they are your words,) as your pen makes." True! the productions of that pen are the miraculous effects of the stars, and you *Sol et homo, homini, Stellæ,* and Holdsworth's Epistolium; and they had need to be dispensed with for other employments, when you are about to stellify half a side of 4°, especially considering the opposition of the unlucky *remora*, your new discovered or (as your own phrase is) new canonized star, which Tycho and Kepler never dreamt of; only you had the hap to find it by its malign influence, which not only slugg'd your pen, but stopped your letter, too, under sail at Doncaster, and gave Cromwell the opportunity of seeing you jeer at these days of reformation behind your paper curtain, where you thought yourself safe, and so sent me your packet forced and deflowered, of which I suppose you meant me the maidenhead. There is nothing remaining in yours, but "that you cannot write a word more;" and, to be quit with you, I shall add but one, and that is, that I have been turned out of my fellowship these six weeks, and yet

have enough left to please myself in, if you disavow me not as

Your very affectionate friend,

W. S.

Sept. 6, 1651.

I understand by your larger letter, to Esq. Prob. (written, I suppose when the *Primum Mobile* was new-oiled, and began to roll again,) that you intended to be with us by this time, but still the *Remora*, the *Remora*, that unhappy new light, is in our way; so that now I begin to fear I shall not see you. On Monday, I truss up my baggage, and send it before, and am ready to march myself as soon as I hear that my successor (Mr. Br. who hath been twice sent for) approacheth to beat up my quarters. Yet if you still mean any testimonies of your friendship towards me, take aim through my neighbours' hands, and you shall not miss the line; only when you do write, tell me no more news of your Yorkshire heavens, but of your own health and condition, which I shall resent both ways as mine own. For me, I have had very little health since I saw you, scarce two well days. I find myself in a manifest decadence, and fear a hectic distemper. The will of the Lord be done. I see nothing in life to be doted on, nothing in death to be feared; and to endeavour the preservation of the one, (as far as my duty obliges,) and my promotion for the other, will be all the employment I shall have in the country.

GEORGE DAVENPORT TO [MR. SANCROFT.]

WORTHY SIR,—Upon Friday last, Dr. Arrowsmith, the new regius professor, read his probation lecture: his text was Genes. iii. 15. After a long preface, (wherein he shewed the dignity of that place being like David's Michlam or St. Paul's faithful saying, and, as Luther said, containing in it the doctrine of the whole Bible,) he came to the exposition. By the serpent was understood the Devil; by the woman, Eve, the mother of the faithful, (wherein he blamed the Jesuits for expounding it of the blessed Virgin, and others for making that history but an allegory, and consequently turning the Scriptures into a fable.) By the seed of the serpent was understood, first, the *cohors diabolorum;* secondly, such men who are of their father the Devil, and the tares sown by the Devil. I cannot remember that he spake any thing of the enmity, (I suppose that was to be explained in the latter part of the text.) At length he set down these conclusions: first, that Eve did absolutely believe; secondly, that she was the mother of the believers; and, thirdly, that the Scriptures doth hold out so much to us. This he proved out of place, I think in Isaiah about Jerusalem, but I cannot call the place to mind. When he had done this, he thought it time to give over, leaving the latter part of the text to be discussed, *aut hic, aut alibi:* some say, that he intends

to preach *ad clerum* on the latter part of the verse. He complained much that so short a time should be allotted to him to explicate so large a text of scripture: this is all at present I can remember of it.

He is much commended by those with whom I converse; what abler heads say of him, I am ignorant. I never thought it impossible for a professor to equal the lectures. I think he is admitted; I am not sure.

We have little news. There is a report that one Dell, in a sermon, or at least a conference, was blasted by the General's not approving of his doctrine, being the same which he last taught in St. Mary's.

I had a letter from your Mr. Gayers on Saturday: they are in health. Since your departure hence, I have scarce gone out of the college, only to church and the new professor's, having been extraordinarily troubled with a cold. Your friends are all in health. My brother and the rest (too many to reckon, and more than I can remember) present their service to you. I presume you will pardon my rude and abrupt style. Thus, with the tenders of our service to you, I leave; and remain

Your devoted servitor,

GEO. DAVENPORT.

Imman. Coll.
Sept. 6, 1651.

MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—I make no question but you have had a large account from my lord general of the mercy at Worcester, which was very eminent, and as a crown to all the Lord vouchsafed us formerly.

The battle being turned by our God, it pleased his excellency to appoint me to the pursuit; and, having a little breathing time, I judge it my duty to give you the best account I can of the Lord's goodness to us therein, which I have daily despatched to his excellency, by letter, or some officer, as I could for time: and I conceive he hath transmitted to you all that is yet come to him considerable, and therefore I shall not trouble you much with the passages of the evening and night of the 3rd instant, and the day following, wherein were taken and slain in the pursuit (and so dispersed that the country might bring them in) at least two thousand horse and foot, according to our best guess, and amongst them the earl of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, and other considerable officers.

On the fifth day of the month we had intelligence that the enemy divided, and took three roads, and accordingly I divided the force with me; appointing colonel Sanders, with his regiment, to the pursuit of those that might take through Derby and Yorkshire; colonel Blundon and colonel Barton, with eight hun-

dred horse and four or five troops of dragoons, to the Manchester road; and fourteen troops of horse to Warrington, and so onward on that hand, with whom I kept; giving the colonels directions (taking the same course also myself) to keep out commanded parties of their ablest horse close after the enemy, while our troops follow as they can.

A party of the enemy of about five hundred passed over into Lancashire, at Hollingferry, near Warrington, (the bridge being kept against them,) of whom we had the pursuit yesterday; and, between that and Lancaster, took about three hundred horse, and amongst them the earl of Kenmore and his brother, and colonel Hume, with many considerable officers: those that escaped of this party are so scattered, that the country people will bring them in, I having before sent to the commissioners, that the country people might get together in their several divisions and hundreds, with what arms they had for that purpose.

Just now, I am informed that one hundred were taken near Bolton, yesterday; and sixty rendered themselves prisoners to captain Carter and captain Ellatson, (of my lord general's regiment of foot.) The greatest body that is left of the enemy, being about one thousand, I find is turned off some way towards Yorkshire, but I hope some of the aforementioned parties will light on them. The work being (through the Lord's goodness to us) so well over this way, I am crossing the country to Skipton, to fall in with

them also, to do further upon the remainder of the enemy, as the Lord shall give strength to our horses, and minister opportunity.

The commanded parties that pursued on this road (drawn out of colonel Rich's, colonel Lilburne's, colonel Barton's, and my own regiments) having most of them reached Lancaster the last night, I hasten what may be towards Appleby, that they may join with what fresh horse the governor of Carlisle can raise, and attend what Providence may offer, not knowing (though none of the enemy are on this road in their van) but that some may dribble down that way, giving them also directions to get up to Hexham with what speed may be, where possibly they may get the van of the enemy, and be very useful to encourage the country to rise before them.

They are undoubtedly at a great loss, and we have great reason to hope few or none of them will escape out of England; and if any do, I hope our friends in Scotland (having had timely notice of this mercy) will be in a good readiness to receive them.

The Lord grant the parliament (whom he hath thus further honoured and owned in the eyes of all the world) may improve this mercy, (entrusted to their management,) according to the will of God, in establishing the ways of righteousness and justice, yet more relieving the oppressed, and opening a wider door to the publishing the everlasting Gospel of our only Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be

loved, honoured, exalted, and admired by all his people, and will be so through the Spirit that he will give them, and all his enemies shall be made his footstool.

I commend you to his free grace, which is exceedingly abundant towards his poor people; remaining,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

T. HARRISON.

Preston,
Sept. 7, 1651.

LORD GREY TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—My lord general being pleased to dismiss those troops under my command, I came hither last night; and this morning, a servant of my father's, and one that hath been constantly faithful to your interest, did acquaint me that major-general Massey came to his house upon Friday night; and, upon that assurance which the inclosed paper doth give an account of, and the grounds therein mentioned, he did receive him, with one major Wood, who had formerly served you under sir William Waller. Upon this first notice given, I sent for a party of horse to take charge of him; and, after evening sermon, went to him, took the inclosed examination: and although much of it may be held to be unimportant, yet, the words being his own, I thought it my duty to present the whole to you: which discovers his temper, and

that he is not inclined to make any ingenuous confession as to that which is most considerable, although I examined him as strictly as my weak abilities would give leave: and finding his condition to be such as he represents it, occasioned by his hard riding, and want of a chirurgeon to dress his wounds, I did forthwith send for the ablest man we have in these parts to take care of him; that by the means used, if God did see it good, he might be restored to his former health, and thereby made more fit for a public trial, and your justice thereupon. I hope, within two days, to remove him to Leicester, where I intend he shall remain, until I have commands otherwise to dispose of him.

Sir, The relation of our proceedings at Worcester coming to you from better hands, I shall not trouble you with any; but cannot omit the acknowledgment of God's goodness to us, which indeed was so signal that I never was witness to the like. That the Lord would give us hearts filled with admiration and praise for his great deliverance, for never any nation had the like, and that we may improve it to his glory, for it was he alone that did the work, and that his presence in all your counsels and actings may be continued to you, is the prayer of,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

THO. GREY.

Broadgate,
Sept. 7, 1651.

The inclosed letter was no sooner delivered to my mother, but she sent it to me.

OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—The late most remarkable, seasonable, and signal victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory) was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration: that as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in his mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to his people, our friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the sequestration or estates of such as abetted this engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your soldier; which could not at that time possibly be prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed wife and children of one William Guise, of the city of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the enemy for his faithfulness to the parliament: the man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord, and upon that account likewise deserveth

more commiseration. Really, sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly, (even to the ruin of their families,) by these parts being the seat of the war; and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the commissioners of the militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken herein.

I have sent the mayor and sheriff of Worcester to Warwick castle, there to attend the pleasure of parliament concerning their trial: I having not opportunity to try them by court-martial. I have also taken security of the other aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, that some severity be shewn to some of those of this county, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former war, did now again appear in arms against you. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Evesham,
Sept. 8, 1651.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir,—I have sent this bearer, captain Orpyn, with the colours taken in the late fight, at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of these sent will be about an hundred; the remain also being forty or fifty, which were taken at the engagement in Fife. I ask pardon for troubling you herewith; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Chipping-Norton,
Sept. 8, 1651.

O. Cromwell.

COLONEL BIRCH TO THE SPEAKER.

Sir,—Several parties of the enemy's horse flying this way upon their defeat at Worcester, the country generally rose against them, and brought them prisoners to the next towns; and having notice of many considerable persons taken hereabouts, I came hither yesternight, and to those brought into Liverpool have added in the inclosed list such as I found here. There are several other towns, as Warrington, Preston, and Wigan, where prisoners are, and the account of the commander there I yet have not: and besides them, in these several places, there is not less than ten or twelve hundred common soldiers.

I think the Scots' king came this way with lieutenant-general Lesley and lieutenant-general Middleton, who were taken on Blackston edge, in the moors, betwixt Karsdale and Halifax, and we believe that he escaped towards Yorkshire in some disguise.[d] All search is made for him here that may be amongst the prisoners; but he cannot be heard of.

Sir, I was desirous to give you this account; which is all to the present trouble from,

Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

THO. BIRCH.

Manchester,
Sept. 9, 1651.

MAJOR-GENERAL MASSEY TO THE COUNTESS OF STAMFORD.

THRICE NOBLE AND THRICE VIRTUOUS LADY,—These are the humble requests of your poor servant, whom it hath pleased the Lord at present deeply to afflict; and, by his providence, being cast into these parts, and full of anguish and pain, by reason of my wounds and weakness got before the defeat at Worcester,[e] I resolved to cast myself upon the favour of

[d] This is only one of the many erroneous rumours of the course taken by "the king of the Scots" after his defeat at Worcester.

[e] Massey had been lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of Stamford, at the beginning of the war. Clarendon, who can

my lord Grey, which, by your ladyship's intercession, and of which I dare presume, knowing your charity to all men, I hope will find his nobleness, that I may have leave, as his prisoner, to stay and repose my sick body, and refresh my wound, either here, or where his lordship shall please to command, being unable to ride or travel further at present; but shall be a faithful prisoner, either under or without guard, as his lordship shall please.

Thrice virtuous madam, this is the most humble request of

Your ladyship's
Most humble and devoted servant,
EDW. MASSEY.

Leeds,
Sept. 10, 1651.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

GENTLEMEN,—As it is necessary for every man to know the laws under which he liveth, that he may render the obedience which is due to his superiors, so many times it happeneth, by several accidents, that a man doth ignorantly fall into danger, especially

admire fidelity to one's cause in a friend, but not in an enemy, remarks, "the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person." Massey was committed to the tower, but shortly escaped. *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 576, 577.

when the law prescribeth a time, wherein notice is to be taken of it, and obedience paid unto it.

This might have been my case: for although I had seen an act of parliament, of 26th June 1649, entitled, "An Act for Sale of the Goods and personal Estate of the late King, Queen, and Prince," wherein I thought myself very free from being concerned, having, to my knowledge, no part or parcel of the said goods or personal estate in my custody; yet I have lately seen another act, of 17th July 1651, entitled, "An additional Act for Sale of the Goods belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince," the persons only which are mentioned in the former act, and enjoining (upon greater penalties than those of the former, as I conceive) all persons that knowingly have in their custody, or have fraudulently conveyed away any of the goods belonging to the late king, queen, or prince, to make known the same to you, the trustees, or to some of you, before the first day of October 1651; in the end of which act also is added a clause, that "the goods or personal estate of or belonging to any child or children of the late king and queen be, and are hereby declared and adjudged to be, within the intent and meaning of this and the said recited act, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been particularly named therein."

This is an addition, indeed, which (seeming to conclude the goods of the innocent together with those of the delinquent) might surprise one that hath

more and better centinels than I have; therefore I confess that I was tempted to think that there might possibly have been some error in the printer, or some other mistaking, because the ground of the former act aforesaid seems (by the beginning thereof) to be, that the goods and personal estate belonging to the late king, and to his wife and eldest son, have been and are justly forfeited by them for their several delinquencies; which seems to imply a difference from them who have never been judged delinquents, nor to have forfeited their goods. But howsoever, without leaning to my poor judgment, I thought myself obliged to give you notice, in obedience and according to the said late act, as followeth.

In June 1649, it pleased the parliament to command my wife to take the charge of the late lady Elizabeth and the duke of Glocester; wherewith (because I thought it an argument of the parliament's trust and confidence in my wife and me) I was very well contented, though I expected no other advantage, but rather trouble and inconvenience by it. I also conceived it to be the parliament's pleasure, that care should be taken of them, and that to do so would be an acceptable service to the parliament; which therefore, on my part, accordingly I endeavoured to perform for the time that they were in my house: with which, I think, they were not unsatisfied. And in August 1650, when the said lady Elizabeth knew that (by order of the council of state) she and her

said brother were to be removed from my house, she sent me two jewels, the one of pearl and the other of diamonds, with a letter in these very civil words: "I desire your lordship will be pleased to take into your care and custody my necklace of pearl and my diamond jewel, until such time as I shall, by a letter or some other sure token, desire your lordship to return them to me:" which letter, all written with her own hand, I am able to shew. I could not refuse so harmless a request to an innocent person of her sex and quality, and so I took the said jewels into my custody; and soon after, the said lady gave me directions, signifying her pleasure how she would have the said jewels disposed of. This was whilst she was in my house: and afterwards, upon her death-bed, she declared her will to be, that her brother, the duke of Glocester, should have the said pearls, or the value of them; and that the said diamond jewel should remain (as she had formerly directed) to my wife and to me, as (I think) I shall be able to prove. And I hope the parliament will not deny a young innocent lady the liberty, which every subject hath, to dispose of her goods, especially such goods as never belonged to the late king, queen, or prince, (nor to the crown, which is considered in the former act,) but were given to her by a stranger: and if they were so given to her, it is likely that they might be given by her, unless she had forfeited her right and property in them. But I know that if the parliament, or you,

by authority thereof, will command the said jewels from me, it is not for me to keep them: yet I humbly desire that this may be remembered, that all sovereign states, monarchical or other, allow to subjects and private persons the liberty to shew and defend, by ordinary and legal ways, their rights and claims to private possessions and inheritances, though in opposition to the titles and interest of the state itself.

Thus I have made known unto you what hath been or is in my custody, and how it came to be so. And I conceive that I cannot be thought to conceal the same, for the duke of Glocester knoweth, and I have acknowledged it to him, that his said sister committed to my custody the said pearls, and had given them to him: neither have I embezzled or fraudulently conveyed away any thing; for whatsoever of that kind was in my custody, is still in my power to produce, which very readily I shall do when it is required of me; but I thought it an impertinent officiousness for me to give an account (which I could not imagine you expected of me, till lately that I saw the additional act aforesaid) of those things which were in my custody, whereof the parliament had never taken notice, nor comprehended them (for aught that I ever heard) in any former act, but belonged to the said lady Elizabeth, who (as I think) was never convicted of any delinquency, nor charged with any crime. And now I humbly desire leave to make claim unto the said two jewels; to the pearls,

by interest of trust for the duke of Glocester, to whom (I conceive) his sister deceased, by her last will, hath bequeathed the same: and to the other of diamonds, in behalf of my wife and myself, to whom she gave it, as I doubt not but your justice will give me leave to prove legally, if I can. And I hope the parliament will not deny my wife and me the honour of that testimony of the said lady Elizabeth's satisfaction with our care of her in the time that, as the parliament's servants, she was received and entertained by us in our house. But now that I have made my claim, I humbly submit it to the judgment of the parliament, and of those that are or shall be appointed by the parliament to judge of it, as they shall think most agreeable to law, justice, and honour.

This only at the present I humbly desire of you, in respect of my indisposition of health at this time, and of some occasions here in the country, that you will dispense with me, and not require mine attendance, nor further account of the things aforesaid, until the first week of November, which is now near at hand; and then (God willing) I intend to be in London, and to attend you with all readiness, to give you satisfaction, and with due submission to your authority.

In the mean time, I engage myself to you, that the jewels aforesaid shall be secure and forthcoming, unless they be taken away by authority or violence. And this request I am the more hopeful to obtain,

because, whatsoever may have been through ignorance or malice reported of me, I can, with a true heart and good conscience, say, that my affections have ever adhered constantly to the parliament; and that I have never knowingly and willingly done or advised any thing to the disservice or dishonour of the parliament; no, not though I were unfortunately or forcibly in the power of the adverse party: into which, by the way, I never put myself fugitively nor voluntarily; but even there I was known to be, and suffered greatly for being that which I was and am, an affectionate and faithful servant to the parliament and commonwealth of England.

So, humbly entreating your favourable construction of what I have written, and that no rigour be used towards me, I rest

Your humble servant,

LEICESTER.

Penshurst,
Sept. 27, 1651.

THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,—Being now, by the will of God, for aught I know, brought to the last minutes of my life, I once more most humbly pray the parliament will be pleased to hear me before my death.

I plead nothing in vindication of my offences, but humbly cast myself down at the parliament's feet, begging their mercy. I have several times addressed

my humble petitions for life, and now again crave leave to submit myself to their mercy, with assurances that the Isle of Man[f] shall be given up to such hands as the parliament entrust to receive it; with this further engagement, (which I shall confirm by sureties,) that I shall never act or endeavour any thing against the established power of this nation, but end my days in prison or banishment, as the house shall think fit.

Sir, It is a greater affliction to me than death itself, that I am sentenced to die at Bolton; so that the nation will look upon me as a sacrifice for that blood which some have unjustly cast upon me, and from which I hope I am acquitted in your opinions, and the judgment of good men, having cleared myself by undeniable evidence.

Indeed, at my trial it was never mentioned against me, and yet they adjudge me to suffer at Bolton, as if indeed I had been guilty. I beg a respite for my life upon that issue, that if I do not acquit myself from that imputation, let me die without mercy.

But, sir, if the parliament have not this mercy for me, I humbly pray the place appointed for my death may be altered; and that if the parliament think it not

[f] The earl of Derby was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester. His countess, notwithstanding the peril in which her husband's life then stood, refused to deliver up the Isle of Man to the parliament: but he advised her to do so, just before his execution. In his death, he carried himself "with stoutness and Christian-like temper." *Whitlocke, Oct.* 20.

fit to give me time to live, they will be pleased to give me time to die, in respiting my life for some time, whilst I may fit myself for death; since thus long I have been persuaded by colonel Duckenfield the parliament would give me my life.

Sir, I submit myself, my family, wife, and children to the mercy of parliament; and shall live or die,

Sir,

Your contented and humble servant,

DERBY.

Oct. 11, 1651.

Sir, I humbly beg the favour that the petition of a dying man, here inclosed, may by your favour be read in the house.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER TO MR. SANCROFT.

GOOD SIR,—You will say, Fie on such a friend, that is thus troublesome to us. I am sent for to Cambridge, to meet with Mr. Crane's executors. I wish you would send your horse so soon this day, that I may come to Triplow to-night, because the stay of the executors is short. Pardon my importunity, and rest assured

I am yours, in all love,

RA. EXON.

Andy,
Oct. 19, 1651.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

GOOD MR. SANCROFT,—I return my thanks to you and Mr. Gaine for helping me home. I have sent you this letter to peruse; you may see what good is abroad, what mischief is intended to us at home, and meant to the breath of our nostrils: but God hath discovered it. Read this letter *submissa voce*, and return it by Richard. Remember Crosby for Mr. Smith, and accept my true love; in which I rest

Yours,

RA. EXON.

Oct. 25.

THOMAS HERBERT TO THE SPEAKER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—The opportunity of presenting this trouble being taken from a sad occasion, makes me begin with that ejaculation of Esay, "The righteous cease, and who layeth it to heart? and merciful men are taken away," which the prophet comforts himself with, by what is added, "that they shall enter into rest:" which eternal peace our endeared General[s] is now entered into, to his highest advantage, though to our loss and unexpressible sorrow, save that religion binds us to submit to Divine

[s] Ireton, lord deputy of Ireland.

Providence; whose wisdom being inscrutable, his will is to be received with humility, through all his dispensations; and, by removing such buttresses, admonishes us to depend wholly upon his power and goodness, which in all difficulties is evident towards the preservation of his servants. And indeed the precept and example of our honoured lord is not only recent to our memories, but so well sown in our hearts, as I hope will produce precious fruit, both towards the exaltation of the kingdom of Christ in the souls of his people, and of perfect faith and diligence in every military and civil officer and soldier, for the eager carrying on the state's interest in this nation, and for the perfecting that great work, which the Almighty hath so graciously, and indeed so gloriously owned, by abasing the proud and inveterate enemy, and by exalting the humble, whose confidence hath been placed in him; and through whose blessing we have prospered, not only to the admiration, but astonishment of the rebels. And albeit our ingeminations proceed from participating our late lord deputy's piety, justice, and industry, I am assured the state will equally resent the want of so excellent a servant, of whose virtues I could never speak enough, had we not smarted for idolizing man; being taught to look up, and to depend upon the Lord of Hosts, who is only omnipotent and unalterable.

Nevertheless experience teaches us, that oft-times alterations flow from such changes. This country

somewhat proves it: for upon the surrender of the strong garrison of Limerick, (the seasonable delivery whereof has powerfully engaged our praises to our good God; the extremity of weather, scarcity of provision for our leaguer, and scarce paralleled strength of the place, duly considered,) persuading ourselves that Galloway (hopeless of relief, and admonished by the justice executed at Limerick) would forthwith yield; they are now upon such pragmatic terms, as may assure us the advantage they receive by the intemperate rains, (which have lately and for long time fallen,) and my lord deputy's death, has animated them to an obstinate holding out for longer time than lately we either hoped or expected. For, indeed, the extraordinary duty our army endured afore Limerick, in a most deep soil, and much hardship, disables us to straiten them so much as otherwise would be. The tories also, (whom the least things delude and heighten,) by this great breach, (which we trust your lordship will speedily close up,) multiply both in number and hope, and are more than ordinarily active to annoy our quarters, and to plunder and waste an already miserably wasted country; so that, from the havoc this long war and the rebels' late spoils have made, corn in many baronies burnt, cattle driven into bogs and destroyed, also the little or no trade hither, partly occasioned by having no returns hence, but principally from the frequent piracies upon our coast here, (no indefensive vessels crossing this narrow sea

without being chased or taken, as we have formerly represented to his excellency;) the revenue of this nation is exceedingly lessened, albeit our quarters are enlarged, and so incompetent for the necessitous provision of our army, that without doubt, unless your bowels be charitably enlarged towards us, and supplies of money continued out of England, (at least until the work, which is so near a happy period, be completed,) our forces will be discouraged through want, (scarcity and hazard rendering all things dear here as yet,) whereby the work may be retarded. My duty encourages me in this plainness: if I have been too free, I humbly crave pardon.

The sickness is hot in Limerick; most places elsewhere (blessed be God) healthy. The commissioners of parliament are at Dublin; at Kilkenny speedily expected. Desiring the only wise God to be your counsellor in all your affairs, I humbly subscribe,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

THO. HERBERT.

Waterford,
Dec. 6, 1651.

JOAS DE GUIMARAES TO [THE SPEAKER.]

NOBLE AND GENEROUS SIR,—I give you most great thanks, and as great as I am able, by these presents, for the answer given me by your honour's

letters written the 13th stilo veteri. That I may sincerely reply, noble and generous sir, to those things which are contained in your honour's letters, I say to it, that by the letters already sent to your honour it might sufficiently be understood, in what name and office I came into England; to wit, of a nobleman of the royal house and chamber of John the Fourth king of Portugal, my most gracious lord: I do there clearly testify that I came with his mission. And it is frequently usual among Christian kings, princes, and states, to send mutually noble and honourable persons in the stead of ambassadors; of which use I could bring many examples, if I had not thought your honour had them ready. For princes, from whom and unto whom such noble and honourable persons are sent, do take care especially that they be sent instructed and furnished with most ample credit and full power; which is abundantly given to me from my king, concerning the substance only of the matters to be handled.

But as to that which your honour demands of me, unto whom, and with what title notified, I am sent hither, and of what business I am to treat with them; I answer, that I am sent from my king to the parliament of the commonwealth of England,[h] using the

[h] Portugal had conducted itself hostilely to the parliament: but now that the English government displayed evident marks of stability, Guimaraes was sent over to negotiate a peace. Considerable opposition was made by Vane and others to his

which disdain at it! *Sed hæc tibi et in aurem.* The time is not yet come when we may play at the wasps' nest.

If you think fit that I should write to Mr. Carter before my return home, upon a word from you I shall do it. I pray commend my love to all our friends of both houses. With the best assurances of my true affection to yourself, I rest

Yours in all love,

Jan. 9, 1651 [2.] RA. EXON.

SAMUEL DILLINGHAM TO MR. SANCROFT.

SIR,—Be of a good confidence still; as yet there's ground enough to think God can work without miracles. Till the Scots be thrice more totally routed, and three more Edinburgh castles entailed thereupon, I cannot despond so far, in reference to things there, as he who has already taken that text in the ivth Lament. "We have looked to a nation," &c. Nay, but at present, and not before, I begin to reckon them something.

Let Portugal,[1] that inconsiderable prince, apostatize into embassages, (which yet may be only of complaint,) I'll not give him sixpence for his neutrality. France is a little better resolved: let Spain stroke us upon the head for his own advantage: Holland

[1] See before, p. 395.

will have more wit, and be honester, though against their wills. Let all means disappear, I'll then hang upon that Providence (which permitted the Benjamites, and does still the Turks) for an alteration more immediately; and till the book of Judges be rased out for Apocrypha, or the Ottoman history burnt, I shall neither think much of some men's success, nor the better of their cause.

The inclosed was of the last week: it comes late only so far as you saw before. You see, sir, how God has taken the kirk off that foolish humour: they would be saved, but Providence must do it either by their arm, or not at all; which was to tie God almost to impossibilities, at least to debar him the use of his most likely means. And what have they got by it? but a kingdom united may stand. But for us, we are so far in engagements against the best of governments, that (for all the simple plea of our own senses, I think he was out of his senses who durst first venture his conscience upon so weak a plank) we deserve never to see king again: which yet I am confident we shall, all old blind bardisms and witchcrafts to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sir,

I am your

S. DILLINGHAM.

From the ruins of Fotheringay Castle, the sad monument of God's wrath upon a place where we first practised the doctrine of cutting off princes, Jan. 15, 1651 [2.]

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sir,—From the ruins of Fotheringay castle, to the massacres of Petersburg minster, are the terms of my motion. In two hours' riding I see the destruction of church and state. Till now, I thought it safest living amongst the dead: and because I hated the sight of the present world, I had of late turned myself back two or three leaves of ages, endeavoured to live with our forefathers, lived like an echo amongst rotten tombs, taking the confessions of monuments and grave-stones, which sometimes I found epitomised in a coat of arms. And while I might do this, I imagined myself with their happy souls, because out of sight of the unhappy times. But I find, upon a fortnight's search, a fate of graves too, a second and third edition of the same death, whilst the title of *edax rerum* is emulously snatched from good old time, by a set of sacrilegious and inhuman fingers. I would have wished Pharaoh, for the eleventh plague, the plague of sectaries.

If the times go ten steps further, we shall have a brass nail upon a flat stone as a rare piece of antiquity; and the sight of a bit of red glass go for pence a-piece: and, indeed, it concerns our new government to get the world into a belief that it was made but in 1640, at furthest. Some bits of brass that I had lately seen, with inscriptions, are, before a man could well say the eighth commandment, pil-

fered away; which when I come with a full resolution to find and preserve, they are gone to mend some old kettle or other, and I like a fool sent home again.

Thus have I spent some days; and, for all this, should have done more, had not the strict order every where for voiding the crown arms frighted me out of churches, as one that misdoubted whether the fear of God were there, when I found not Honour the, &c. follow. I tell them, they only white them over to the next and fairer edition. We must now keep them close in a book, if we'll have them at all.

I pray God bleed our kingdom a little at the nose, that the distemper may be cured. Besides the present means against some men, it is easy to draw an argument against them from every thing they do; but it is as dangerous too, if a piece of paper miscarry, and so I will spare myself.

The inclosed is a taste of Emanuel Thesaurus, and the twentieth part of him; which I pray read over, and keep till I send for it.

Mr. Sarson has certainly a grace for the next master, the next rot that falls either in Cambridge or Oxford; and has promised his mistress, upon that confidence, her coach and four horses. He has the repute of a very independent, and had been with you last bout, had he not come two or three days too late. Sir, I take my leave and kiss your hands.

Your amicus male dignus,

Jan. 25, 1651 [2.] S. DILLINGHAM.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER TO MR. SANCROFT.

Worthy Sir,—It is your love that makes you undertake so readily Mrs. Prime's employment in writing to me, and making inquiry after my welfare. I owe it to you both that you are so mindful of me, as, in truth, my thoughts of you both are always wakeful, every week looking and longing for the good tidings of your health. I bless God, mine hath not suffered any impairing since I came to London; yet still I wish to suck in Triplow air, and shall hasten home, when I shall meet with that dismission, which Mrs. Prime questions what it meant in my former letter.

The overtures that were made to me are laid aside (as I am told) till some greater affairs may be transacted, and some differences composed; so that partly good manners makes me continue here, not being willing to turn my back upon those that so friendly invited me hither; and partly, I am requested still to stay by those that conceive some hope that good may be done, which in truth I do not see makes any approach towards us; but I will not desert any opportunity, so long as it offers itself.

Mr. Carter's anniversary is an invitation which I desire to lay hold on; but if I shall be disappointed of it, the sad anniversary which this day recurs upon us, may well quench the thoughts of any festivities, and turn all our rejoicings into mourning. "Son of man,

write the name of this day, even of this same day," as Eccles. hath it; but write it with juice of wormwood mingled with tears; or rather blot it out of the calendar, and let it not be reckoned amongst the days of the year.

I am glad to hear that all with you are in good health. I pray remember your own thin body, and cherish it with warmth. Salute my loving friends, your young gentlemen; and my best respects must never be forgot to Mr. Carter and his wife.

The nearer to London, the further from news. I see none of their books, nor hear much of their affairs; only I hear, yesterday there was an ordination of five young striplings at Mr. Carter's parish in the Poultry, by the incumbent of that church and the other presbytery. These super-seminations are still practised, though it be in secret.

With my very affectionate love assured to you, I betake you to the good hand of our gracious God, in whom I am

Yours,

Jan. 30, 1651 [2.] RA. EXON.

N. LEMPRIERE, BAILY OF JERSEY, TO THE SPEAKER.

I know that in duty I was bound to give the parliament an account of the civil government in this

island, but I presumed to defer it until this fittest opportunity by colonel Stocall.

I am confident it may dissipate those aspersions which some beyond the seas, not understanding our laws here, have already (as we are informed) endeavoured to cast upon this government, intending thereby to obtain the setting up of their own conceits.

This little spot of ground (lately made happy by your islanders' submission unto the parliament's forces, who have delivered them out of bondage) is divided in twelve parishes; and every one of those subdivided in several divisions, called vintaines: in each parish a constable; a centurion, which is as the constable's deputy; as may vinteniers as there are vintaines, who are subordinate officers to the constables, to execute those warrants which are sent them by him, who receives them first, either from the governor or baily. There are besides other officers, called sermentez, or jurors, to make up the number of twelve with the vinteniers in each parish: these twelve, with the constable, makes up a petty jury, to indict or free criminals, when they first present them in court. The constable and these officers have power to search out and seize all malefactors whatsoever, every one in his parish, and present them to the baily and justices, to receive condign punishment.

Besides, there is a provost in every parish: as the

name signifies "warner," so their office is to summon or warn any parties, who have suits in law, together, to appear before the baily and justices, who decide those differences. Those summonses are in very short and pithy form, either written by the parties themselves, or any body else, provided that he that writes them must subscribe them: and the provost warneth the parties in many causes for nothing, in others for a penny. All these parochial officers are elected and chosen by the votes of all the parishioners, great and small, poor and rich; then presented to the baily, who giveth them oath to exercise their several functions.

The whole island is generally ruled by the great court, (so called in relation of inferior courts, of which hereafter mention shall be made,) held in a fair cohne, or court house, erected for that purpose. The assembly there consists of the baily, twelve jurats or justices, the king's procurator or attorney, (so called heretofore,) the king's advocate or solicitor heretofore, the viscount or sheriff, the greffier or clerk of the court, the denunciator or under sheriff, five or six advocates at the baily's discretion, and a huissier or door-keeper. The baily heretofore was nominated by the king, and had his patent under the great seal of England: he is the head and president of the court, collects the voices of the jurats, and pronounces the sentences, according to their plurality; but if equality, then he hath the casting voice.

The twelve jurats or justices are chosen by the

suffrages generally of all the islanders, without exception, and sworn in the court by the baily. The procurator and advocate were named by the king: their office was to plead for the king's rights, and to see all manner of crimes punished; they might also plead 'twixt party and party. The viscount was also nominated by the king: his office was to arrest and imprison debtors, after judgment of execution given, and never before; to seize goods, when he is so appointed to do by the court, and to sell them in the market-place at public days to those who gave most, to be applied for the payment of creditors, who may redeem them fourteen days after. He takes inventories of orphans' goods, and sometimes sells them at outcries for their use and behoof. He is clerk of the market, hath the care of all sorts of measures for dry and liquid wares; he looks to the water-courses of rivulets or brooks, with some officer with him, that all might be in good order for the benefit of the inhabitants; he is also coroner, and crier of the court. The denunciator hath the like power in the viscount's absence, with many other cares conducing to the accommodation of the islanders.

The greffier, or clerk of the court, doth enrol all the sentences pronounced by the baily, and that, *sedente curia*, in very fair register books, of which he hath the keeping, as of all the ancient records, archives, privileges, franchises, liberties, and immunities, heretofore granted to the inhabitants by the late

kings and queens of England, under the baily, who hath the care from superior authority.

The advocates' offices are to plead for parties, which they do for very small fees, at easy rates, (viz.) sixpence; by reason that the people of all sorts and sexes, and upon all manner of pleas, may and do plead their own causes, and have as much audience as the advocates themselves.

There is also another officer of high concernment in the island, called l'enregistreur, or registrar, who doth register all and all manner of deeds which pass under the common seal of the isle; as partitions of lands between coheirs, sales of lands or wheat rents, either in fee farm or for ready money, letters of attorney, mortgages, bonds, &c. for three pence each: all which are written in a compendious manner, without equivocations or law's quiddities; and pass all by oath, administered unto the parties by the baily in the presence of one or more of the jurats, neither to do or cause to be done any thing against their demises upon pain of perjury; all written in our natural tongue. Neither are those deeds authentic, unless the baily and two jurats at least are signed in them, besides the seal. Of this seal, the baily is keeper; but it is sealed in a bag by some of the justices, under their seals, and not opened but in their presences: the impress of it is, three lions rampant, with an inscription bearing "Sigillum Insulæ de Jersey."

Upon this discourse of the seal, I beseech your honour to permit me to digress something from my present narrative; which is, that I am now in possession of the said seal, sent from Brittany by captain Carteret, alias sir George Carteret, who was keeper thereof by usurpation before our coming hither: what were his pretensions to carry it beyond the seas, I leave to the parliament to censure. He hath likewise sent some of the court records; but I find more wanting, which he was to render, by the articles agreed on upon the surrender of Castle Elizabeth; and therefore it is conceived he hath forfeited the benefit which was granted unto him by them.

The nomination of the greffier, denunciator, registrar, inferior advocates, and huissier, belongs to the baily.

The great court is kept very solemn at their assizes, or opening of their courts in the beginning of their terms, the governor being present to answer for those lordships that owe their comperance or appearing at the said assizes, whereof there is a good number. Likewise all the justices and officers of the court, with the provosts and other lords of manors, which hold *in capite*, and other frank-tenants, which are duly called according to their ranks, and fines set upon those which do not appear; and if they failed four times together, their lands were put in the king's possession. They keep three sorts of courts, though with the same judges; (viz.) the court of heritage,

the court of cattel, and the court of remedies, or the court extraordinary.

In the first court is treated of inheritance; as partitions of lands between coheirs, and, in fine, of all differences which do arise for lands, or any rents that are for ever. The benefit of retrieving of inheritance sold, is granted to the first of the kindred that doth claim it within a year. In the second, called the court of cattel, first, of all criminal causes, which are determined definitively without appeal, (except those of high treason, the cognizance of which the king reserved to himself,) but are judged with the greatest discretion and favour that can be imagined; for, first, a malefactor being brought before the judges by the constable and his sermentez, which make the petty jury, (before mentioned,) if they have found the malefactor seized of any goods, or vehement suspicions (after examination of witnesses in their presence, they having the freedom to recuse any of them upon evidences of hatred or malice) either of theft, murder, or witchcraft, then their verdict is, that they think, in their consciences, they are guilty of the fact, (which is called indictment;) whereupon the parties so indicted are demanded, whether they will be tried by the bench or the country? by this bench is meant, the baily and twelve justices, whereof there must be seven of them, at least, of one opinion, to condemn a man; by the country is understood, an assembly of twenty-four of the accused's own parish and neigh-

bouring parishes, of sufficient able men, full of integrity; of those there must be twenty of an unanimous voice to make the party guilty: and this is the great inquest. In the second place, in the same court called cattel, is treated of duress for the most part; (which is,) that in case a man be overburdened with debts, and that his estate is not able to pay them, as soon as he is imprisoned for any of them, he is freed of all his creditors, if he comes to court and affirms upon oath that he hath not wherewithal to satisfy them, and leaves them what inheritance he hath to struggle amongst them who shall enjoy it: which is done very regularly; those which have purchased or lent their money the last are the losers; every man enjoys according to the priority of his purchase, &c.

In the last court, called extraordinary, is treated of causes more trivial, which concern only moveables, &c.

Of the court of heritage, the last part of the court of cattel and extraordinary, appeals might be made to the king and council for moveables, not for under the value of £20 sterling; but for matter of inheritance there is no limitation. Appeals might be made immediately after sentence given, yet *sedente curia*, and two sufficient sureties given within a sennight for the prosecution of them within the time limited: which is, the said appeals must be entered in the book of council causes within three months, and presented within one year; and in case the appellant do

not reverse the sentence, and proves an order from the council of mal jugé bien appellé, then he forfeits twenty crowns to the baily.

There are likewise many inferior courts held in the island by seneschals or stewards, called basse courts; which is to say, low courts, in respect of the great and superior courts. Many of these lordships do now belong to the commonwealth of England, others to some gentlemen of the island. Of these stewards' courts, appeals may be made to the baily's court.

Upon some extraordinary and important occasions, which might conduce for the good of the inhabitants, an assembly of the states was called by the governor or baily. This assembly consisted of the said governor or his lieutenant, the baily or his lieutenant, the twelve jurats, the twelve constables, (who represented the commons of the country,) and sometimes the twelve ministers, who, by their turbulency and brouilleries, have made themselves unworthy of that assembly; and therefore may be very fitly desired they might be left out with the bishops, I intending never to call them at that assembly unless I am commanded.

Amongst the many good and wholesome local customs, municipal laws and others, whereof many are agreeing with the Mosaical, one is very remarkable, (in the behalf of the oppressed,) viz. Le clam de haro: which is, that if any man, of what degree or

quality soever, pretends to be injured or oppressed, either by the greatest or lowest of this isle, at the acclamation three times of Haro, with a loud voice, (be it right or wrong,) the other party must surcease, though he were upon never such urgent occasions, whether he were at cart or plough, felling or lopping trees, in a word, upon any occasion; and he that is in fault, of the accuser or accused, is fined in ten livres tournois; and if the accuser persists notwithstanding in his work or violence, he is also fined in the like sum for his persisting: and likewise, if any man is within the hearing of this call, and doth not come to the assistance of the oppressed, he is put to an arbitrary fine; and this is tried at the court of cattel (before mentioned) amongst crimes.

This being but a short epitome of our civil government, I refer the enlarging of this summary to this gentleman, colonel Stocall; who voluntarily ventured himself with the first at the landing in this isle, and hath been very serviceable in assisting with us to the parliament's forces. I cannot also but recommend to your honour his abilities and good endowments; and most particularly for the twelve learned speeches he made to the twelve parishes, when the inhabitants of them took and subscribed the engagement, where he shewed most ingeniously the great difference of the late and present government, to the great applause of the islanders, with acclamations of joy and alacrity; and therefore do most humbly

beseech your honour, that he may have some good encouragements for his return in this place. He is also able, with Dr. Lempriere, (who hath been very painful, and is still as careful for the good of this poor island, and is perfectly well acquainted with the government of the country and integrity of the people,) to describe and recommend unto the parliament some able persons, who are fit in this island to serve really and truly the commonwealth: the number of them is not great, but it is very requisite to have such.

They may likewise inform your honour, how I have caused to be elected in each parish a constable, centurion, vinteniers, and sermentez, (before described,) who, for the most part, have suffered for the commonwealth, either by exile, fines, imprisonment, or otherwise, and sworn them in their offices. I would have proceeded to the election of jurats in the places of those who have, by their foul and enormous offences of extortions, pillages, and adherances to captain Carteret, alias sir George Carteret, in all his tyrannies and plunders upon the poor inhabitants of this isle, disabled themselves ever to bear any office in this place, had not the honourable colonel Heane shewed me a letter from the council of state desiring a supersedeas till further order.

The said colonel Heane, at our first coming in the isle, did put the militia thereof at the disposing of colonel Stocall, captain Norman, and myself; where

we laboured to place able captains and other officers, not malignants, and who have suffered for the state.

Thus much I presume to particularize unto your honour, most humbly begging that you will be graciously pleased to favour this poor plot of earth so far, that they may re-enjoy their ancient liberties and privileges in their jurisdictions, and all tyranny and oppression taken away, (all which my small endeavours I nevertheless refer wholly to the parliament's great wisdom and censure,) and they shall ever pray for the augmentation and exaltation of the commonwealth of England. It shall be most particularly the prayer of

Your honour's most humble, most faithful,
and most obliged servant,
N. Lempriere, Baily de Jersey.

Jersey,
Feb. 2, 1651 [2.]

THE BISHOP OF EXETER TO MR. SANCROFT.

Loving Sir,—I do thankfully acknowledge all your love in being so mindful of me, and so desirous of my return to you, which cannot be sooner than myself longs for. London streets are tedious passages; and were not my visit with Mr. Rich so refreshing to me, I could not have endured the irksomeness of my stay in this place: but now I do

begin to make up my fardel, and do long to be with you.

The kindness which Mr. Prime threatens, to fetch me home, makes me again to acknowledge his love in bringing me hither. I hope to prevent him; and as soon as Dr. Young is set down at Heydon, which will be next week, then I shall expect my man Stephen's return to me, to bring up horses for my journey: only let Mr. Prime know, that Mrs. Hammond's sickness, not without danger, is a cause why I desire this week over, ere I think of home.

I am glad Mr. Carter is so well acquainted with the embolimus of this year, though so long a translation of the celebrity exceeds the usual account: but a long time is but as one day to love and friendship. Mr. Gaine and his brother, I think, are upon their return to you. I dined at Mr. Abdie's house last Tuesday: he speaks of you with much affection. And I hope we shall either reduce the demand for your abode at Triplow to more moderation, or else give you content in another way, which will not be unacceptable to you.

When I return to you, I shall give you an account of the business which I have waited upon; which hath been retarded, if not disappointed, *contra molitiones presbyterorum*. I assure you, the Independents are of a more moderate disposition. I pray, sir, let my affectionate love be recommended to Mr. and Mrs. Prime, and to my friends of the upper house. To

yourself I am, and desire to be esteemed, and shall be glad to be found, your cordial, I wish I could say your real friend,

RA. EXON.

Feb. 20, 1651 [2.]

THOMAS PHILPOTT TO THE SPEAKER.

MASTER SPEAKER,—It will be a sad thing when a people shall be weary of their rulers; and doubtless a people will have just cause to be weary of their rulers, when the rulers shall either refuse to hear the grievances of the people, or, having received their grievances presented to them, will neither return no answer in writing to the people's written declaration, nor apply any real remedy to their just complaints, which they might with ease do.

Far be it from me to say that the people of this nation are weary, or have just cause to be weary, of their present rulers; but this I may safely deliver to you in writing, which I shall now write.

Behold, the king is not; behold, the house of lords is not; yea, behold, a great part of the house of commons either is not, or at least for some time was not, permitted to be and to vote in parliament; which to me is a strong demonstrative argument, that a great part, or at least a considerable part, of the people were not well pleased with those members of parliament who were excluded, and who yet remain excluded.

As for me, my conscience beareth me witness that, during these civil distractions, I have still been jealous of the parliament's honour and dignity, as a son in his father's cause; and next unto the general welfare and safety of the people, (for whom ye are entrusted,) I have ever been tender of your privileges and credit; yea, my hearty desire for all the remaining members of parliament still is, that ye all may be justified and saved, not only in the world to come, but in this world also; yea, and that ye may be more precious in the eyes of the people at your voluntary dissolution, than ye were at your first sitting in parliament. And to that end, and for the performance of my former solemn vows and protestations, I have thought fit, with my own hand, here to commend to your especial care, before some chosen witnesses, this annexed petition of right in behalf of the whole nation; to be by you, as you hate to be unfaithful, in due time presented unto the parliament, before I be rendered uncapable of writing any more to the supreme authority of the nation, or you, Mr. Speaker, either be rendered uncapable of voting and resolving this petition of right into an act of parliament: the passing whereof (I am confident) will produce this effect, that all generations to come shall call the parliament that shall pass it into an act, blessed. In expectation whereof, I rest

Your Solicitor-general in behalf of the people,

Feb. 24, 1651 [2.] THOMAS PHILPOTT.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO MR. COOKE.

[DECIPHERED.]

SIR,—Since I sent to you last, we have received assurances out of Lancashire, from all the considerable men in that county, that they are ready to rise for us, and do only expect a party of fifteen hundred horse from thence to countenance their rising; being confident, within ten days after they are up, to be able to fight with Cromwell, without any other assistance.

Upon this, the marquis of Argyle, David Lesley, and some other lords of great interest in this kingdom, have sent them back word, that, upon the first drawing together of our army, two thousand of our best horse, and as many good Highland foot, shall be sent under the command of Massey and the duke of Buckingham. In the mean time, they have given the duke of Buckingham leave to raise a troop of English horse; which, within ten days, will be near two hundred good men. I have chosen to go this way into England, believing I shall be able to do the king more service so, than if I went in disguise any where to stay about London.

This bearer, captain Berkenhead, will give you a particular account of the whole business, and I shall desire you to give entire credit to what he shall say, for he hath been the main negotiator of the Lancashire business. I am, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

From the court, Scotland,
Feb. 25, 1651 [2.]

COLONEL COOKE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF PARLIAMENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—This is the first opportunity I have had to give you an account what success we have had in these parts against the enemy since my coming from Dublin here. Upon this day sennight in the evening, our forces all rendezvoused at Eniscorthy, some having marched ten miles that day, and some twenty: about ten of the clock the same night, we began our march towards the enemies' quarters, having twelve miles to march before we could come to do service. In the morning, before day, we were in the midst of them; but they lay so dispersed, that we could not then do much upon them: some we killed, and some we took. In searching the woods and bogs, we found great store of corn, which we burnt, also all the houses and cabins we could find: in all which we found great plenty of corn. We continued burning and destroying for four days: in which time we wanted no provision for horse or man, finding also housing enough to lie in; though we burnt our quarters every morning, and continued burning all day after. He was an idle soldier that had not either a fat lamb, veal, pig, poultry, or all of them, every night to his supper.

This country, the enemy of these parts chiefly depended upon for provisions. I believe we destroyed as much as would have served some thousands of

them until next harvest. The place is called Macdemore's country; it lieth bordering on the county of Wicklow, and to the sea side. It hath always been in protection until the late line: it never paid any contribution that was considerable. The inhabitants' chiefest subsistence lay in corn, it being a very good corn country. I took this opportunity to march into that country, being not able to march in time so far as the county of Wicklow to do service; understanding also, by intelligence from the country, that these people were risen in rebellion, (instead of coming within the line;) to which purpose they had taken up all the horse and arms they could find, or any ways procure.

Sir Thomas Esmond's troop, and his son's, and some others, lay there: we took many of their horses, and killed and took many horsemen which we found on foot; we killed also divers foot soldiers: it is hard to say how many; but some soldiers that were with colonel Sankey and colonel Axtell, when they fell into the enemies' quarters this winter, say we killed many more soldiers than they. We could have killed many hundreds of country people, that we found up and down the country, not knowing what to do, but forbore at present, they being newly put out of protection, and some of them probably being about to go within the line; as also because we judged them people that would rather do us service, by eating up that little provision which possibly might escape the

fire, than hurt us, they being all of them either old men, women, or children. We took about two hundred garroons, three hundred cows and calves, and four hundred sheep and goats, besides some few swine. I believe we took, at least, half a hundred of those horses that the enemy served upon against us; some better, some worse. I am confident we left the enemy in such a condition as they must needs most of them starve. If the same course be taken in the other parts that border upon them, doubtless this is the only way to make a speedy end of these wars.

My humble desire is, that care may be taken that we starve not ourselves also with the enemy. I see nothing visible for my soldiers here but starving: the English baronies have not a quarter corn enough to keep themselves that live there. For my foot, I think they are as good as ever marched, either for fighting, searching woods and bogs, or for long and speedy marching. I dare say they marched, last Wednesday and Thursday, before they rested, at least thirty miles, and much of it through woods and bogs, almost never in a road, continuing marching night and day. All this march, I never heard any of them complain he was weary or lame: it was hard to keep them from straggling before, but very easy to keep them up in the rear. Our horsemen did all confess, their horses were not able to continue a march with them; almost one half of our horse being lame and tired, though they had every night good lodging, and as good pro-

vision of oats and hay as they could desire. My foot were many times beating the woods and bogs, when the horse stood still and looked on: wherefore I am necessitated humbly to pray that they may someways be supplied, there being neither moneys nor provisions. This march hath a little relieved them for the present, otherwise they must have starved. If you please to order some store to be laid here for the forces employed in the service against the enemy in Wicklow woods, I dare undertake, with my foot and three or four good troops of horse, to spoil the enemy there this summer; especially if again in April you fall upon them with parties from all parts, as you have now done.

Colonel Pretty and I have agreed to fall upon Clanmalline woods, he on the one side and I on the other, next Tuesday morning. I have desired colonel Axtell also at the same time to fall upon them on that side next him: this is the season to spoil them. I believe the last design has done them more mischief than probably would have been done all the summer, if you had stayed while grass were grown.

I hope your forces in all other parts will also be active in this season: if so, I am confident we shall have very little to do in the summer.

I humbly crave pardon for my tediousness, of which I am much ashamed; my zeal for your service being accompanied with much weakness hath occasioned it. I shall now conclude with that which is most

true, viz. that there is none in the world shall more industriously and faithfully serve you than he who is,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

GEORGE COOKE.

Wexford,
March 17, 1651 [2.]

CAPTAIN ALFORD'S NARRATIVE.

The right honourable the lord keeper of the great seal of England, having desired me to give him an account of what I knew of his majesty's most miraculous escape, and the great danger he passed through, after he came from Worcester, do here do it as followeth:

HIS majesty came to that loyal gentleman's house, sir Francis Windham, at Trent, in the county of Somerset, within three miles of Shirburn; and being there, his majesty, well knowing the trust he might repose in colonel Giles Strangways, sent sir Francis Windham to consult with him as to his preservation and escape, and to desire him to send him what money he could. The said colonel's father being then living, he had no great command of money; and, for reasons then best known to himself, would not communicate such a secret to his father, but readily fetched £100 in gold, (protesting it was all he had,) and delivered it to sir Francis Windham.

They then consulted of the safest way for his majesty's embarkation; and thought that about Lyme there might be some convenient place, if they could find a fit man that might be trusted. Then the colonel advised that one captain Alford, whom his majesty well knew, might be a fit person to be entrusted; or if he were not to be found, then he knew of no other but one Mr. Wm. Ellisdon, that lived in Lyme. So one Peters, a servant of sir Francis Windham, was sent to find out captain Alford, who was then in Portugal, forced to be abroad by reason of his loyalty: but Ellisdon was at home, being newly married to a very rich but rigid Presbyterian.

Therefore sir Francis Windham went and conferred with Ellisdon, for the transporting (as he said) beyond the sea of two gentlemen; and desired him to freight some bark for that purpose.

Mr. Ellisdon addressed himself to one Stephen Limbry,[k] who was master of a small vessel, of about thirty tons: to whom he declared, that there were two gentlemen that desired passage into any part of France; the one whereof, having married a great fortune, was troubled by her father and friends, and so they would go into France for some time. They treated on the conditions, which were, that whereas Limbry was then bound for St. Maloes, he should put

[k] "There was in Lyme a master of a bark, of whose honesty this captain (Ellison) was very confident." *Clarendon*, vol. vi. p. 534.

out those goods which he had on board, and should ballast his ship at Mr. Ellisdon's cost; who promised the said master to give him £25 in hand, and an obligation to pay him £25 more when he should bring him a note or letter that he had safely landed them in any part of France.

This agreement being made, the master fitted out his ship, of which notice was given to sir Francis Windham, who, with the king, came to a small house belonging to Mr. Ellisdon's brother, who was a violent Oliverian, about two miles from Lyme, where he gave an account of what was done as to the freighting the ship. So Ellisdon went for Lyme, and told the master that the gentlemen were come, and that they would be at Charmouth at five of the clock that day, and that he should not fail to be there at that time to meet him; and that he would there pay him the £25, and give him his security for his other £25: but the master demanding his charges in ballasting his ship, which was but nine shillings, Ellisdon refused to pay it, for which the master was discontented; yet his dwelling being at Charmouth, he failed not to be there, and came several times to the house where the gentlemen were, (with the lady, Mrs. Coningsby, who is now Mr. Hixt's wife,) and demanded of the people of the house if Mr. Ellisdon were come. The king spoke with the master, who assured him his ship was ready, but still he lingered to see when Mr. Ellisdon would come to fulfil his agreement: and it

being very late at night, and the master finding that Mr. Ellisdon came not, nor had he paid, nor ever did, nor any other for him, one penny of the money, the master retired to his own house, after he had been there three times, and never came again to the king.

So his majesty finding himself to be deluded, was now to consult his further preservation. Command was given, that their horses should be made ready, but it was found that the king's horse, which carried double, had a shoe loose: so a smith was sent for, who came; and looking over the shoes of all the horses, said, he knew that all those horses had been shod about Worcester:[1] yet he fastened the shoes, and presently went to consult with one Westley, the parson of Charmouth, a rigid foolish Presbyterian, who was then in a long-winded prayer; and before he had done, the king was gone towards Bridport: intelligence being carried into Lyme, (which is a mile and a half from Charmouth,) but by what means it is not known, hereupon ten or twelve troopers were despatched away to pursue them.

The king stopped at the Red Lion inn in Bridport. My lord Wilmot and sir Francis Windham went up

[1] Clarendon's account is, that the smith said, "he was sure that the horse's four shoes had been made in four different counties." Alford's account is equally natural: in either way, it expresses but a shrewd guess that the smith knew where the rider had come from.

into a room, with the lady, as masters. The groom (who was the king) they had left to see the horses well rubbed: they commanded a shoulder of mutton to be made ready. The ostler took great notice of the pretended groom, and told him he was formerly a soldier for the king in Exeter, and cursed the parliament soldiers that were then in the house; still urging on the king that he had seen him in Exeter, insomuch that the king was forced to call to mind where he lodged in Exeter, and told him that he had lived in Exeter with one Mr. George Potter, and had been his groom. The ostler replied, that he knew well Mr. Potter, and captain Alford, that married Mr. Potter's daughter: so, on this acquaintance, the cans were called for, and they drank lovingly together. In a short time, the mutton being ready, the king was called up; who made haste to eat, (the door being shut,) and so went again to fit the horses whilst they did eat. They took care, the house being full of soldiers, to be served by an old woman, to whom they gave the rest of the mutton, who took out the pan of the close stool to hide it under. They made haste to take horse, and ride away on London road a little way; but at the first turning on the left hand they left that road, and went by-ways to Broadwindsor, which was clear back again. In the evening they came to the George inn there, which was well known to sir Francis Windham: but it happened that the house was full of soldiers, so that there

was but a little top chamber that could be had for the king and his company, and but one bed. It fell out that night, that a woman in the house fell in travail, so that the troopers were forced to go to other houses; so his majesty took horse in the morning, with the gentlewoman behind him, and arrived safe at sir Francis Windham's, at Trent.

His majesty had not been gone out of Bridport a quarter of an hour, before the twelve troopers from Lyme were come to pursue those gentlemen that had lain at Charmouth. They made inquiry at the inn, where they were informed that the said gentlemen were gone down the town on London road: so they made great speed after them, and never stopped till they came to Dorchester, not thinking they had made such a turning back.

Mr. Ellisdon, finding that the king was gone, and that the Lyme troopers were returned, took horse himself; and being half a mile from the town of Lyme, met with one Mr. Thomas Taylor, whom he desired to go with him, telling him that there was a £1000 to be got for whoever should take the king, and he knew where he was: but the said Mr. Taylor refused to go with him, saying he would not do it if it were to gain the world. So Mr. Ellisdon went forward, and came to sir Hugh Windham's house at Pilsdon, five miles from Lyme and two from Broadwindsor, thinking the king had been there. He went in boldly, and asked sir Hugh Windham for the king. Sir

Hugh replied to him, that he was a base fellow to come to his house to ask for the king, and commanded him out of his house.

The said Ellisdon was gone but a little time before the Lyme troopers, which had pursued the king before from Bridport, were come into the house of sir Hugh Windham, and made diligent search. They did not spare the young ladies, as sir Francis Windham hath said; and the gentleman that since married Mrs. Coningsby, both living, hath affirmed, that he hath often heard his wife say, what is above inserted, of what past at sir Hugh Windham's; for she was told it, after the king's escape, by sir Hugh and the ladies that were soused by the troopers.

Limbry, the master, hath deposed before a master in chancery, (since his majesty's happy return,) in the presence of several persons now living, that, directly nor indirectly, he never received one penny of money of Mr. Ellisdon, nor of any other, on the aforesaid contract; but that he had carried away the gentlemen, (so called,) had he had the money agreed for, which he was to have received at Charmouth; and that whatever hath been set forth to the contrary was notoriously false; and laid the blame wholly upon Mr. Ellisdon, for not coming to Charmouth to perform the agreement made with him.

COLONEL GUNTER'S NARRATIVE.

The last act in the miraculous story of his majesty's escape, being a true and perfect relation of his conveyance, through many obstacles and after many dangers, to a safe harbour, out of the reach of his tyrannical enemies; by colonel Gunter, of Rackton, in Sussex, who had the happiness to be instrumental in the business.

THE king was now at Heale, within three miles of Salisbury, where we begin our story. My lord Wilmot, his faithful and watchful attendant, at Salisbury. There, Dr. Hinchman, now right reverend bishop of Salisbury, (inspired by God himself, as may well be thought by the success,) gave him counsel, first to try at Lawrence Hyde's, esq., living at Hinton Daubney in Hampshire, near the sea side, what could be done for a passage: then, if that did not succeed, to repair to colonel George Gunter, at Rackton, four miles from Chichester in Sussex; being very confident of his fidelity, and that he would contribute, to the utmost of his power, to bring this great and weighty business, as for the difficulties they must encounter, so for the consequences of the issue, to a good end.

Here, before I proceed in the story, the reader will give me leave to put him in mind, that we write not an ordinary story, where the reader, engaged by no other interest than curiosity, may soon be cloyed with circumstances which signify no more unto him

but that the author was at good leisure, and was very confident of his reader's patience. In the relation of miracles, every petty circumstance is material, and may afford to the judicious reader matter of good speculation; of such a miracle, especially, where the restoration of no less than three kingdoms, and his own particular safety and liberty, (if a good and faithful subject,) was at the stake. I may not therefore omit to let him know how things stood with the colonel at that time, when this resolution (which proved happy in the success) was taken.

Not above fourteen days before, the said colonel Gunter was confined, upon pain of imprisonment, not to stir five miles from home. In the very nick of time when he was first thought upon for so great a work, comes a messenger, with a warrant from the commissioners of Haberdasher's hall, London, to summon him to appear before them within ten days, to pay £200 for his fifth and twentieth part which they had set upon him, upon pain of sequestration on default.

He first refused, and told the messenger that he was confined, and could not go five miles from home: but he left with him the order, and told him it should be at his peril if he did not obey it. The colonel, the next day, repaired to Chichester, four miles from him, to the commissioners there, to shew them his order. They peremptorily replied, he must go, and his order would bear him out. He went accordingly,

and compounded with them, and got off £100 of the £200 he was set at: but his credit being shaken, the current running then so hard against the king, the royal party, and all good men, that he could not borrow the money in all London; he was forced with all speed to repair into the country, and went privately to his usurer, who had the security of his whole estate. He shewed him his danger, and requested to borrow £100 upon his bond and his former security; who readily condescended, and told him out the money. The next day he was to call for it, and seal the bond.

He had no sooner ended this business, being stayed somewhat longer by some friends than he intended, but that very night he came home, (being October 7, 1651,) he found some at his house who were come about this design. I think it will easily be granted by any that reads and considers, that this was not without a Providence, since that it is apparent that if his friends had come before he had been licensed to go abroad, he must needs have been excused; and if they had come much after, it was possible a new restraint might have come between, or his liberty, in going so freely up and down after his business ended, more suspected. But now to the story, and entertainment of his guests.

Betwixt eight and nine of the clock at night, the colonel came home. Entering in at his door, the colonel's lady met him, and told him, there was in

the parlour a Devonshire gentleman, sent by Mr. Hyde, aforesaid, about a reference which none beside yourself can decide. At the colonel's coming in, he found his Devonshire gentleman sitting at one end of the chimney, captain Thomas Gunter at the other, and his lady (which was gone in before) in the middle. The gentleman rose, and saluted him. The colonel presently knew him to be the Lord Wilmot: which the noble Lord perceiving, took the colonel aside to the window; "I see you know me, (said he,) do not own me." Captain Thomas Gunter, the colonel's kinsman, for all he had a long time been in the army, knew him not; which was strange, the noble lord being but meanly disguised. After a bottle of sack, which afforded some matter of discourse, by reason of two wasps, or rather hornets, which came out at the opening; a short collation being made ready as soon as could, (his lady having given leave to her servants to be from home that day,) my lord's man, one Swan, coming in to wait, whispered his master in the ear, and told him my lord Wentworth's boy Pony was without; and wished him to be careful, for fear the boy should know him; being taken by captain Thomas Gunter in distress at Chelsea, and clothed by him, to wait upon him. Supper ended, there was whispering betwixt the colonel's kinsman and his lady; and she told him she was confident of a disguise, and that it was the master by his hand. He beat her off of it as much as he

could, suspecting no such matter himself. Within half an hour after supper, the colonel offered the noble lord, then by name Mr. Barlow, it being late, and as the greatest courtesy he could then shew him, to wait upon him to his chamber, and to bed, which he readily accepted. The colonel took up the candle, the noble lord following him, his lady and kinsman attending. When he came into the chamber, it being late, the colonel desired his lady and kinsman to go to bed, and to leave him, for he was bound to wait upon this gentleman awhile. They took leave, and bid him good night.

The noble lord and colonel being alone, he broke the business unto the colonel in these words, sighing: "The king of England, my master, your master, and the master of all good Englishmen, is near you, and in great distress: can you help us to a boat?" The colonel, looking very sadly, after some pause said, "Is he well? Is he safe?" He said, "Yes." The colonel replied, "God be blessed:" and gave him a reason for his question, if he should not be secure, he doubted not but he could secure him till a boat could be gotten. The noble lord, not knowing what had been done, and what course had been taken for securing of his majesty at Heale since he came away, answered the colonel, he hoped he was out of danger at present, but intended to be at his house with him on the Wednesday. So he said, and so it seems it was resolved; but second thoughts, and un-

expected accommodations elsewhere, had altered the design. However, upon the hearing of this, the colonel's thoughts were much raised, in expectation of such a guest, until he was better informed, as he was soon after, to his good content and satisfaction; knowing the house well, and the conveniencies thereof, and the worth and fidelity of the persons.

Now to the main business of procuring a boat. The colonel told the lord seriously, and nothing but the truth, that for all he lived so near the sea, yet there was no man living so little acquainted with those kind of men. However, as he thought himself bound by all obligations, sacred and civil, to do his utmost to preserve his king, so he would faithfully promise, with all possible care and alacrity, yea, expedition, (which he accounted to be the life of such a business,) to acquit himself of his duty. The noble lord, my honoured friend, (Oh, that God had been pleased to have spared him life,) was abundantly satisfied with this answer, hugging him in his arms, and kissed his cheek again and again. For that time the colonel bid him good night, desiring him to rest secure, for that he would watch whilst he slept, and that he doubted not but in good time all would be well. Coming into his chamber, he found his wife had stayed up for him, and was very earnest to know who this was, and what was his business. The colonel desired her to excuse him; assuring her, it was nothing concerning her, or that would any ways

damnify her. She was confident there was more in it than so; and enough, she doubted, to ruin him and all his family; and in that, said she, I am concerned; breaking out into a very great passion of weeping. Which the colonel seeing, took a candle, pretending to go into the next room, but privately to my lord Wilmot, and acquainted him how it was: asking his advice, whether, as the case stood, it were any way amiss to acquaint her with it; that he durst pass his word for the loyalty and integrity of his wife: however, without his allowance, she should know nothing. The noble lord replied, "No, no, by all means acquaint her with it." I humbly thanked him, and bade him good night again. The colonel coming into his chamber, unfolded the business, wiped the tears off his lady's eyes; who smiling said, "Go on and prosper; yet I fear you will hardly do it." However, said the colonel, I must endeavour, and will do my best, leaving the success to God Almighty. His lady deporting herself during the whole carriage of the business with so much discretion, courage, and fidelity, that (without vanity be it spoken) she seemed (her danger considered) to outgo her sex. Neither will the reader think this an impertinent circumstance, since the success of the business did not a little depend on her concurrence.

The colonel, contenting himself with very little sleep that night, rose very early the next morning, being Wednesday, the 8th of October, as he had pro-

mised the lord Wilmot, and rode to Emsworth, a place two miles from him, and by the sea side, passing through Boorne. He took an old servant of his formerly, John Day, a trusty man, and very loyal subject, who was related to seamen of very good account, who with their barks used to lie there: but they being out of the way, could do no good there; although, four years after, the colonel did, at the same place, at his own charges, hire a bark for the lord Wilmot, who came over at his majesty's command, and losing his design, was forced to come from almost the farthest north to the south before he could get a passage. So few friends then had his sacred majesty in his distresses, now so numerous in expectation of rewards. The colonel hasted all he could home, to give my lord account, who had promised not to stir till the colonel came, but, being impatient of any delay, had left the colonel's house; so that the colonel met him within half a mile of it, and gave him an account of his morning's work, that nothing could be done where he had been. The noble lord and the colonel rid on, and went to Langstone, a place by the sea, and where boats use. As he was riding along, he put his hand in his pocket and missed his money; for coming away in haste from the colonel's house, he had left it behind him in his bed; immediately, he sent his man Swan for it. The colonel's lady hearing my lord was gone, which she much wondered at, had been in his chamber, and found the bed open, and in

the middle a black purse full of gold, which she had secured, and gave it the man when he came for it.

When we came to Langstone, we attempted all we could, but in vain. The noble lord and the colonel eat oysters there, and then they parted: the noble lord to Mr. Hyde's house aforesaid, there to expect the account of the colonel's proceedings; the colonel home: and immediately employed his kinsman, captain Thomas Gunter, (who by this was made acquainted,) to inquire of several other places, and to meet the colonel next day at Chichester, to give him an account. All which the colonel imparted that night to my lord Wilmot, at Mr. Hyde's house, at Hinton Daubney aforesaid. After supper, the colonel took his leave of the lord, it being a very dismal night for wind and rain, which made the lord very much to importune the colonel to stay; but he refused, replying that delays were dangerous, and let the weather be what it would he had a sure guide.

The colonel touched at his own house by the way, betwixt one and two of the clock that night, and laid down upon his bed; and after two hours' rest rose from bed, and went immediately to Chichester to meet his kinsman, captain Thomas Gunter, (Oct. 8,) according to appointment, from whom he received this account: that both he and his kinsman, Mr. Wm. Rishton, a loyal gentleman, and one engaged all along in the war under the colonel's command, had endeavoured all they could, but without success.

Then the colonel bethought himself, and conceived the next and best expedient would be to treat with a French merchant, one that usually traded into France; and went to one Mr. Francis Mansell, a stranger then to the colonel, and only known unto him by name, as casually he had met him with several other companies, pretending to give him a visit, and be better acquainted with him. He received him courteously, and entertained him with a bottle or two of his French wine and Spanish tobacco. After awhile, the colonel broke the business to him; saying, I do not only come to visit you, but I must request one favour of you. He replied, any thing in his power. Then the colonel asked him if he could freight a bark; for, said he, I have two special friends of mine who have been engaged in a duel, and there is mischief done; and I am obliged to get them off, if I can. He doubted not but he could, at such a place at Brighton, in Sussex. The colonel pressed him then to go with him immediately; and if he could effect the business, he would give him £50 for his pains: but it being Slow fair day there, and his partner out of the way, he could not possibly until the next day; and then he promised him faithfully he would go with him, and do his best: so accordingly we agreed.

Then the colonel, who had promised the noble lord Wilmot an account, at Mr. Hyde's house aforesaid, once in twelve or twenty-four hours at the furthest, repaired thither accordingly, and told him all was

done. The noble lord approved and liked the way wondrous well. It being very late, and very dark and boisterous weather, the colonel took his leave. His horse being almost spent, borrowed a horse of his kinsman, Mr. Hyde, who lent him his falconer's horse, being, as it seems, the best he then had; which served to carry him home, and the next morning to Chichester.

The colonel took his own house in the way, and rested upon a bed for awhile, and went into Chichester the 10th October, being Friday, according to former appointment. The merchant being destitute of a horse, the colonel hoisted him upon the horse borrowed of Mr. Hyde, and borrowed one for himself of his kinsman, captain Thomas Gunter, and went away accordingly; desiring his kinsman to repair to my lord Wilmot, and to give him the account of his departure from Chichester in further prosecution of the business, and to remain with him, in order to his commands during his absence.

We arrived to Brighthelmstone by two of the clock that day. The merchant went immediately to inquire: but the seaman he chiefly depended upon was gone for Chichester, who had bargained for a freight there; but, as Providence would have it, he touched at Shoreham, four miles from Brighton. I persuaded the merchant to send to him, immediately to come to him upon earnest business, and I doubted not but he would come: which took effect accordingly.

The colonel had agreed with the merchant to treat with the boatman, being his affair and trade, he to sit by as neuter; promising the merchant to make good, and to pay him, whatever he should agree for, but withal desired to get it as low as he could.

We stayed there that night, and by Saturday, the 11th of October, by two of the clock, made a perfect agreement; which was, that he was to have £60 paid him in hand before he took them into the boat; for he would know what he should carry, or he would not treat: so that the merchant was forced to tell him, himself knowing no more than what the colonel had said to him, of two friends, &c. He was to be in readiness upon an hour's warning; and the merchant to stay there, under pretence of freighting his bark, to see all things in readiness against the colonel and his two friends' arrival. For the colonel knew not when he should come, but privately promised the merchant to defray all his charges, and to give him £50 as aforesaid, for his pains, which was afterwards accordingly done; but this £50, and the £60 paid to the boatman, the king himself, before he went away, took order for, and his order was executed.

All things agreed upon, the colonel took leave of the merchant, about three of the clock, with all expedition, to give my lord Wilmot this account, and came to Mr. Hyde's house aforesaid, between eight and nine in the night; but my lord and the colonel's kinsman, captain Gunter, were removed to a tenant's

of my cousin Hyde's, one Mr. Brown, and one that had married my cousin Gunter's sister. But the colonel coming in at my cousin Hyde's house, as aforesaid, found there his cousin Hyde and colonel Robert Philips in his chamber going to bed, who was very inquisitive to know how things stood. He gave in short, that all things were well and in a readiness; upon which the noble colonel Philips replied, Thou shalt be a saint in my almanack for ever. Mr. Hyde was very earnest to have had the colonel stay all night, and to go and give an account the morrow morning; but he desired to be excused, for that he knew he was expected, and could not in honour but give his account without delay. Whereupon colonel Philips would go with me, and we took leave of my cousin Hyde for that night, and came where my lord Wilmot was, and had earnestly expected me.

After I had saluted him, and given him a full account of all proceedings, the noble lord was infinitely pleased and satisfied, and presently had in consultation who should go for the king; and it was agreed, that colonel Philips should, by reason that colonel Gunter was much tired, and would need rest for further employment. So colonel Philips, upon Sunday the 12th of October, went to give the king an account, and to conduct him to the lord Wilmot and to the said colonel Gunter.

In the interim, whilst they expected, upon Monday the 13th of October, the lord Wilmot, colonel Gunter, and captain Thomas Gunter, being all together at

dinner, agreed to ride out upon the Downs. The colonel, for a blind, went to Hambledon, hard by, to give his sister a visit, and there borrowed a brace of greyhounds, for that his cousin Gunter and other gentlemen were upon the Downs, and had a mind to have a course at a hare; and it was possible, if they did not beat too far, and should stay out late, they might all come and be merry with her that night, however she should be sure of her dogs: "If you do, you shall be heartily welcome," was her answer. The colonel brought the greyhounds, and beat with my lord and his cousin until his time served, and then left them, resolving to ride on till he met the king. And just as he came to Warneford town's end from old Winchester, he met colonel Philips conducting the king. Being near the houses, the colonel rid by them, and took no notice; went to an inn in the town, called for some beer and took a pipe, and stayed so long, that they were atop old Winchester before he overtook them. When he had overtaken them, and done his duty to his majesty, he directed them the safest way, and he would ride before to find out my lord Wilmot; which being done, we all came together.

The king and my lord had some private discourse together. When we came to Broadhalfpenny, a little above Hambledon, there the king spake to the colonel, "Cans't thou get me a lodging hereabouts?" The colonel told him, that his cousin Hyde's house aforesaid was taken up for him, and was very convenient,

being near and in the way; but whether his majesty thought it too public a place, or for what other reason, I know not, he said, "Know you no other?" "Yes, may it please your majesty, I know divers yeomanly men, where for a night we may be welcome; and here is one who married my sister, whose house stands privately and out of the way." "Let us go thither," saith the king.

Whilst we were consulting this affair, captain Thomas Gunter, the colonel's kinsman, and Swan, my lord Wilmot's man, rid scouring about Broadhalfpenny aforesaid, the colonel conducting the king, my lord Wilmot, and colonel Robert Philips to his sister's house a private way, and the back side of Hambledon, it being but half a mile from the place aforesaid. Alighting at the door, the colonel led them in, the lord Wilmot following, the king putting colonel Robert Philips before him, saying, "Thou lookest the most like a gentleman now." Coming in, the colonel's sister met him: we all saluted her; she brought us into a little parlour, where was a good fire: this was about candle lighting. Wine, ale, and biscuits were presently set before us, with a very cheerful countenance, as though the king's presence had had some secret influence upon her, who suspected nothing less than that a king was present. In an hour's space we went to supper, being all set promiscuously at a round table; and having half supped, in comes the colonel's sister's husband, Mr. Thomas Simons, who, as it

plainly appeared, had been in company that day. "This is brave," said he; "a man can no sooner be out of the way, but his house must be taken up with I know not whom:" and looking in the colonel's face, "Is it you, (said he;) you are welcome; and, as your friends, so they are all." Passing round the table, and viewing all the company, he said, "These are all Hyde's now;" but peeping in the king's face, said of him, "Here is a roundhead:" and addressing his speech to the colonel, said, "I never knew you keep roundheads' company before." To which the colonel replied, "It is no matter, he is my friend; and I will assure you no dangerous man." At which words, he clap't himself down in a chair next the king, and took him by the hand, shaking him and saying, "Brother roundhead, for his sake thou art welcome;" all the while believing the king to be so indeed, and making himself (whether for fear or in courtesy) to be one too, as well as he could act it; the king all the while complying with him, to all our admirations. Now and then he would swear before he was aware: for which the king reproved him, "O dear brother, that is a scape; swear not, I beseech you." Nevertheless, in that humour he was, he plied us hard with strong waters and beer, the king not knowing well how to avoid it, but as somebody or other, when he looked aside, would take it out of his hand.

Supper being ended, it being ten of the clock, the colonel began to bethink himself that the king had

rid near forty miles that day, and was to undergo a very hard journey the next; and how to get the king out of his company, and to bed, he could hardly devise. Yet the colonel whispered his kinsman in the ear, saying, "I wonder how thou should'st judge so right: he is a roundhead indeed, and if we could get him to bed the house were our own, and we could be merry." He readily submitted; and the colonel presently, leaving the lord Wilmot behind, conducted the king and colonel Robert Philips (who lay in the king's chamber) to bed. The king slept well all night; and by break of day, the colonel putting up two neats' tongues in his pockets, which he thought they might need by the way, they set out, and began their journey.

They were no sooner come to Arundel hill, as they rode close by the castle, but the governor, captain Morly, met them full butt, hunting. The colonel, the better to avoid them, it being a steep hill they were to go down, presently alighted, and his company (as was agreed before) did as he did; and so happily they escaped them. The king being told who it was, replied merrily, "I did not like his starched mouchates." So we came to Howton, where on horseback we made a stop at an alehouse for some bread and drink; and there our neats' tongues stood us in very good stead, and were heartily eaten. From thence being come to Bramber, we found the streets full of soldiers, on both sides the houses, who, un-

luckily, and unknown to me, were come thither the night before to guard; but luckily (or rather by a special providence) were just then come from their guard at Bramber bridge into the town for refreshment. We came upon them unawares, and were seen before we suspected any thing. My lord Wilmot was ready to turn back, when I stepped in and said, "If we do, we are undone: let us go on boldly, and we shall not be suspected." "He saith well," said the king. I went before, he followed; and so passed through without any hinderance. It was then between three and four of the clock in the afternoon.

We went on, but had not gone far but a new terror pursued us, the same soldiers riding after us as fast as they could; whereupon the king gave me a hem. I slacked my pace till they were come up to me; and by that time the soldiers were come, who rudely passed by us, (being in a narrow lane,) so that we could hardly keep our saddles for them, but passed by without any further hurt, being some thirty or forty in number. When we were come to Beeding, a little village, where I had provided a retreatment for the king, (one Mr. Bagshal's house,) I was earnest that his majesty should stay there awhile, till I had viewed the coast; but my lord Wilmot would by no means, for fear of those soldiers, but carried the king out of the road I know not whither. So we parted: they where they thought safest; I to Brighton; being agreed they should send to me when fixed any where

and ready. Being come to the said Brighton, I found all clear there, and the inn (the George) free from all strangers at that time. Having taken the best room in the house, and bespoke my supper, as I was entertaining myself with a glass of wine, the king, not finding accommodation elsewhere to his mind, was come to the inn; and up comes mine host, (one Smith by name.) "More guests," saith he to me. He brought them up into another room, I taking no notice. It was not long, but drawing towards the king's room I heard the king's voice, saying aloud to my lord Wilmot, "Here, Mr. Barlow, I drink to you." "I know that name," said I to mine host, now by me, "I pray inquire, and whether he was not a major in the king's army:" which done, he was found to be the man whom I expected, and presently invited (as was likely) to the fellowship of a glass of wine. From that I proceeded, and made a motion to join company, and because my chamber was largest, that they would make use of it: which was accepted, and so we became one company again.

At supper, the king was cheerful, not shewing the least sign of fear or apprehension of any danger, neither then, nor at any time during the whole course of this business; which is no small wonder, considering that the very thought of his enemies, so great and so many, so diligent and so much interested in his ruin, was enough, as long as he was within their reach, and as it were in the very midst of them, to

have daunted the stoutest courage in the world: as if God had opened his eyes, as he did Elisha's servant at his master's request, and he had seen an heavenly host round about him, to guard him, which to us was invisible; who therefore, though much encouraged by his undauntedness, and the assurance of so good and glorious a cause, yet were not without secret terrors within ourselves, and thought every minute a day, a month, till we should see his sacred person out of their reach. Supper ended, the king stood his back against the fire, leaning over a chair; up comes mine host, (upon some jealousy, I guess, not any certain knowledge;) but up comes he, who called himself Gaius, runs to the king, catcheth his hand, and kissing it, said, it shall not be said but I have kissed the best man's hand in England. He had waited at the table at supper, where the boatman also sat with us, and were then present: whether he had seen or heard any thing that could give him any occasion of suspicion, I know not; in very deed, the king had a hard task so to carry himself in all things that he might be in nothing like himself, majesty being so natural unto him, that even when he said nothing, did nothing, his very looks (if a man observed) were enough to betray him.

It was admirable to see how the king (as though he had not been concerned in these words, which might have sounded in the ears of another man as the sentence of death) turned about in silence, without

any alteration of countenance, or taking notice of what had been said.

About a quarter of an hour after, the king went to his chamber, where I followed him, craved his pardon, with earnest protestation that I was as innocent, so altogether ignorant of the cause how this had happened. "Peace, peace, colonel," said the king, "the fellow knows me and I him: he was one (whether so or not I know not, but so the king thought at that time) that belonged to the back stairs to my father; I hope he is an honest fellow." After this, I began to treat with the boatman, (Feversfield by name,) asking him in what readiness he was? He answered, he could not off that night, because, for more security, he had brought his vessel into a creek, and the tide had forsaken it, so that it was on ground.

It is observable, that all the while the business had been in agitation to this very time, the wind had been contrary. The king then opening the window, took notice that the wind was turned, and told the master of the ship: whereupon, because of the wind and a clear night, I offered £10 more to the man to get off that night, but that could not be; however, we agreed he should take in his company that night. But it was a great business that we had in hand, and God would have us to know so, both by the difficulties that offered themselves, and by his help he afforded to remove them. When we thought we had agreed, the boatman starts back, and saith, No, unless

I would insure the bark. Argue it we did with him, how unreasonable it was, being so well paid, &c. but to no purpose, so that I yielded at last; and £200 was his valuation, which was agreed upon. But then, as though he had been resolved to frustrate all by unreasonable demands, he required my bond: at which, moved with much indignation, I began to be as resolute as he; saying, among other things, there were more boats to be had besides his; if he would not, another should; and made as though I would go to another. In this contest the king happily interposed, he saith right, (saith his majesty,) a gentleman's word, especially before witnesses, is as good as his bond. At last, the man's stomach came down, and carry them he would, whatsoever came of it; and before he would be taken, he would run his boat under the water: so it was agreed, that about two in the night they should be aboard.

The boatman, in the mean time, went to provide for necessaries, and I persuaded the king to take some rest: he did, in his clothes, and my lord Wilmot with him, till towards two of the night. Then I called them up, shewing them how the time went by my watch. Horses being led by the back way towards the beach, we came to the boat, and found all ready. So I took my leave, craving his majesty's pardon if any thing had happened through error, not want of will or loyalty; how willingly I would have waited further, but for my family, (being many,) which would

want me; and I hoped his majesty would not, not doubting but in a very little time he should be where he would. My only request to his majesty was, that he would conceal his instruments, wherein their preservation was so much concerned. His majesty promised nobody should know.

I abided there, keeping the horses in a readiness in case any thing unexpected had happened. At eight of the clock, I saw them on sail, and it was the afternoon before they went out of sight. The wind (O Providence) held very good till next morning to ten of the clock, brought them to a place of Normandy, called Fackham, some three miles off Havre de Grace, Wednesday, October 15th. They were no sooner landed, but the wind turned, and a violent storm did arise, insomuch that the boatman was forced to cut his cable, lost his anchor to save his boat; for which he required of me £8, and had it. The boat was back again at Chichester by Friday, to take his freight.

I was not gone out of the town two hours, but soldiers came thither to search for a tall black man, six feet and two inches high.

Unto thee, O God, do we give thanks, unto thee do we give thanks, for that thy name is near, thy wondrous works declare. Great deliverance giveth he to his king, and sheweth mercy to his anointed.

THE END.

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